

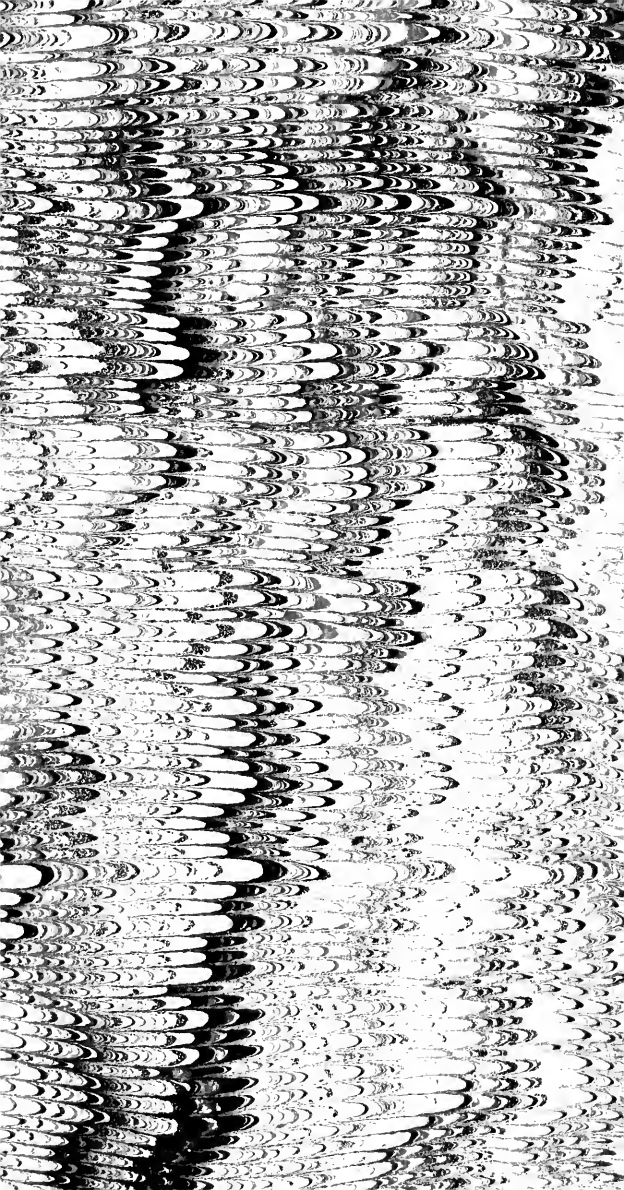




THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

GIFT OF

Kate Gordon Moore





LIVES
OF
THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

St. Ninian,
BISHOP OF CANDIDA CASA.

MANSUETI HEREDITABUNT TERRAM, ET DELECTABUNTUR IN
MULTITUDINE PACIS.

LONDON:
JAMES TOOVEY, 192, PICCADILLY.

1845.

1 A
4676
N. 111
v. 2

CONTENTS.

Chap.	Page
ADVERTISEMENT	v
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. ST. NINIAN'S EARLY DAYS	11
3. ST. NINIAN'S RIPER YEARS	24
4. ST. NINIAN'S JOURNEY TO ROME	41
5. ST. NINIAN'S LIFE AT ROME	56
6. ST. NINIAN'S RETURN TO BRITAIN	75
7. ST. NINIAN IN GALLOWAY	85
8. CONVERSION OF THE PICTS	119
9. ST. NINIAN'S LATTER DAYS	130
10. CONCLUSION	140

71111
4676
N. 111
v. 2



PREFACE.

It is necessary to say a few words on the sources from which the present Life is derived. The account of St. Aelred's parentage is taken from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, (Laud, 668) in which are several works ascribed to him, and amongst others, one "*De Sanctis Ecclesiæ Hagulstadensis et eorum miraculis.*" Whether this work is by him or not, the author has not sufficient critical judgment to pronounce. It is in some places assigned to him, but one circumstance against it is, that it is principally a Sermon, preached in the Church of Hexham, on the translation of the relics of the old Bishops of Hexham, apparently by the Prior of the Canons. A great part of it, however, from fol. 67 of the manuscript, is a written continuation of the history, and was not preached. If one may be allowed to conjecture, this part might be written by St. Aelred. It is like his style (though it should be said that the Sermon also is like it), and the historical know-

ledge which it displays, also makes it likely to be his. There is nothing in the M.S. itself to indicate that the persons of whom it gives an account were St. Aelred's ancestors ; this fact is gathered from Richard of Hexham, *De statu Hagulstadenſis Eccleſiæ*, b. 2, c. 9. There is also an incidental proof that St. Aelred's ancestors were persons connected with the Church of Durham, in a letter from Reginald, a monk of Durham, to St. Aelred, in which he thanks him for some collections, taken from documents in the Church of Durham by his ancestors, and communicated by him. This letter is found in a Bodleian manuscript, Fairfax, 6.

The life in Capgrave and the Bollandists has only been partially followed, as it contains various historical inaccuracies. St. Aelred's own works have been on the whole the principal authority made use of. A few notices of the Saint have been inserted in the Life of St. Waltheof, to whom they rather belong. The author hoped to have brought the two lives out together, which, however, has been found impossible.

St. Aelred was canonized by Pope Celestine III., A. D. 1191, according to the Peterborough Annals.

LIFE OF

St. Ninian,

BISHOP OF CANDIDA CASA, AND

APOSTLE OF THE SOUTHERN PICTS,

CIRC. A. D. 360-432.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

How many of us have never heard of St. Ninian ! How many, on hearing of him, would carelessly put aside the thought of his history, as a matter of no concern, as a tale of former days, of what once was, and is no longer, in any way which connects him with us, or us with him. But this is a thoughtless way of viewing any subject. All things may be connected one with another ; the works of former times may have exercised an influence which still lives. Still more is this the case with Saints. The world passes away, and the works of the world, and men, so far as they are of the world, and unite themselves with the world, pass with it ; but they who are gifted with divine life, and united to Christ, abide for ever ; now more truly living than when the world saw them.

If there be one whom the Church has recognized as a Saint, there is a work of Divine Grace at which

we should pause, and turn aside, and view with reverend awe ; there is a child of Adam renewed in the Divine image ; one in whom a work has been wrought, which is begun in many and perfected in few. His history, could we see it as it is—his inward history—how eventful would it be ; how many a crisis would it involve ! What motions of Divine grace—what watchful Providences—what a correspondence on his own part to the calls of Heaven ! What a precious tale of deeds and sufferings, of watchfulness and self-restraint, of prayers and heavenly aspirations ! How intense is the interest excited by examining some work of human skill, and tracing its beauty, or contrivance, or finished art ! How full are the natural works of God of all that is calculated to engage our attention, to awaken surprise, delight, and admiration. With how much more of deep feeling then should we view the spiritual creation, and trace out there the workings of providence and the effects of grace. Beautiful as is the natural world, the fair budding of spring, and the grass and trees, and the clear shining after rain, they are but faint images indeed of holy men, and of their varied graces, whose sweetness Scripture shadows out by the choicest objects of sense. And as we gratefully commemorate the glory and goodness of God, as shown in these passing works, still more should the manifold and abiding graces of His Elect call forth our thankfulness and praise.

But, it may be said, little is known of St. Ninian. It is true. Yet this might almost enhance our interest in him, and our wish to know that little. How many are there in every rank of life who pass from this world unrecognized, save by a few, yet high in the

Divine favour and of great attainments in sanctity. That Saints should be distinguished in any marked way, seems to be owing to (what we may call) the accident of their being brought by circumstances into positions which have elicited their hidden graces, and manifested them to the world. But as their holiness is independent of its visible effects, so those effects are no measure of it. By the world, men are estimated for their influence on its fortunes ; and in proportion as they have influenced it, is the degree of honour assigned them. But sanctity is independent of such outward manifestations or visible fruits. Though, in St. Ninian's case, if we believe those who in olden time so greatly venerated this holy man, there were not wanting abundant sensible tokens of his power and prevailing intercession. Even Protestant writers¹ allow that he had the gift of miracles, and the numerous worshippers at his shrine, three or four hundred years ago, believed, and would allege facts in proof, that they received blessings, even miraculous ones, through his prayers availing with God.

Among ourselves, there has been a long suspension of that everlasting remembrance in which the righteous ought to be held, that affectionate interest with which we ought to cherish those who in their day have laboured for the Church, and been marked by special gifts of grace. But it is not many centuries since the name of St. Ninian was one of the most honoured in the Calendar, and people flocked from every part of the island to visit his shrine. His memory, has, indeed, had singular reverses. From the fifth to the twelfth century, it was scarcely known beyond the

¹ The Madgeburg Centuriators, tom. 4, 1429.

limits of the wild district where he had laboured and died. The only records of him were in the memory of his people, or written in a barbarous and unknown language. The succession of his See was interrupted. Successive tribes of uncivilized Celts occupied his country, and seemed to have obliterated almost every vestige of his earthly labours. But seven centuries passed, and his memory rose from its obscurity ; his power was recognized, his shrine was frequented, and his intercessions sought. Amid the wild wars of Scotland and the Border, a safe conduct was provided for pilgrims who were visiting his Church, and kings sought his prayers. Their piety was mixed, doubtless, according to the character of individuals, with even the grossest superstition ; still it implied a general recognition of his sanctity ; and the reason they would themselves have given of this devotion was, that they had experienced blessings through it ; and that such was, in some instances, at least, the case, is the most natural and obvious account of the matter.

That little should have been known of his history need not surprise us. He lived in a dark period of British history, and laboured among a rude people. In the centuries following his death, Galloway was the scene of frequent wars, and changed its masters and its inhabitants. The Southern Picts whom he had converted were in time merged among the other races who inhabited the east of Scotland, and it was, as to the world's history, as if he had never lived. But this is not different from what we might expect. Of how many other distinguished Saints have few traces been left in history ! Of how many of the holy Apostles is it merely recorded that they preached the gospel in certain remote districts, and were mar-

tyred ! Of the fruits of their preaching, of the Churches they founded, no certain vestiges remain. Yet their names are written in heaven ; their works are recorded there ; and the souls who, through their means, though of distant ages and of barbarous languages, were brought into that Communion, where all learn one language, and are formed after one model, and are brethren and fellow-countrymen in Christ, are blessing and praising God for the mercy he showed in their conversion. It may be to the increase of their blessedness to be thus humbled ; to have their works hidden from the world ; that having no reward of human praise here, they may enjoy a more ample recompense in heaven.

Do not think slightly then of St. Ninian because he is little known ; but rather let us trace out with reverential love what may be learnt of him. We know more of him, and on better authority, than we do of many more exalted Saints ; and if in searching out what may be known of him, we seem to be led into dry and antiquarian matter, let it not be an ungrateful labour. It may be repaid by the contemplation of his graces.

And there are circumstances which give a peculiar interest to St. Ninian. Besides his being one of our own Saints, and the earliest Missionary, and first Bishop in Scotland of whom we have any authentic record ; he lived at a time when there was a change taking place in the mode in which conversions to the faith were made. The barbarous nations were now pouring in upon the Christians, and threatening the destruction of the empire of the Church, as though it were not Christ's. St. Ninian was one of the first of those who turned back the arms of the invaders, and reduced them by meekness and truth, under the gentle and happy sway

of the gospel. Again, conversions had hitherto been of individuals, now they became national ; that of the Piets was one of the first. And the system on which missions were conducted in the countries of Europe, found one of their earliest types in him.

It may, indeed, very naturally be asked, what do we really know of this ancient Saint, and, considering his age, country, and circumstances, what authentic records can there be of the events of his life ?

Of the history of Britain at that time, (the close of the fourth and early part of the fifth century) the notices, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are very few, scanty, and unsatisfactory. It was St. Ninian's lot to live at that critical period, when the Roman power was breaking, and the empire was giving way under internal divisions, and the inroads of the Northern tribes. And Britain, which had been raised from a wild and savage condition to considerable civilization, was again to be thrown back into a more miserable barbarism by the inundations of the Caledonians, and the occupation of the Saxons. They were too much engaged in fighting to write narratives of what they did ; and any memorials they had were lost in the troubles which followed. Of its ecclesiastical history we are still more ignorant. The age of St. Ninian may be looked on as one of which almost nothing is recorded in the annals of the British Church ; so that we must form our ideas of this particular period by what we know of the times preceding and following it. It would come in to fill the blank between the third and fourth chapters of the account of the British Church, which is prefixed to the life of St. Augustine.¹

¹ No. iii. of this Series.

Of one then who lived in such an age, what records can we have ? May not the history be given up as entirely uncertain ? I conceive not ; and for these reasons. Personal history is preserved when public events are unrecorded and forgotten. Nay, in all history it is often through the narratives of the lives of individuals alone, that many circumstances of public importance have been preserved to us ; it is round the individual that interest centres, and his doings which are remembered. We know how children are impressed by the words and deeds of individual worthies, when of the general course of the history they have no clear ideas, so that the best histories for them consist of a series of personal tales. And it is so with men generally, and particularly in a simple state of society. Among Christians this is still more the case ; since with them the affectionate remembrance of those who are gone, is heightened by religious reverence, and sanctioned and sustained by the commemoration of the departed. It is to the individual Saint that Christians look, rather than to the events of general history ; for they view him as the work of Divine grace ; whilst the course of the world, though in its progress and issue, the effect of His providence, is in detail but the manifestation of man's wilfulness and misery.

We cannot suppose but that the Picts, among whom St. Ninian had introduced the Gospel, would retain the memory of one to whom they were indebted for all they held dear. And in Galloway he had left a standing memorial in the church of stone, which was looked on with no little interest by the admiring Britons, and was thought to give a name to the place where it stood. He left a monastery too, and that

would be the means of preserving some records of him. That such records were preserved we know, on the authority of the earliest witnesses we could have—the most learned and accomplished scholars, and the most holy men of their age—Bede and Alcuin.

In Bede's time the Southern Piets were still existing as a separate race, and testified to having derived their Christianity from St. Ninian ; and Whithern, with his church and tomb, was a visible memorial. A Saxon succession of Bishops and a Saxon monastery had been established here, on the conquest of Galloway by that people. So that in Bede we have the testimony of one who had full means of informing himself on the subject, as to the main incidents of St. Ninian's life ; as also had Alcuin, of whom there is a letter still extant, written to the Brethren of the Saxon Monastery of Whithern, recognizing the miracles and holiness of the Saint. And after this we find incidental mention of St. Ninian in different writers, all treating the chief facts of his life as matter of authentic history.

These are however only portions of information incidentally given, indications of a larger store existing among the people whom he had converted, and where his Church and monastery were. Among them we might expect that records would exist, (as among the other Celtic tribes in Wales and Ireland,) written in their own language, and from that very circumstance little known to the rest of the world. Galloway had been over-run by different tribes, but (with the exception of the brief occupation by the Saxons) they were all of the Celtic race, and their languages, though different dialects, were mutually intelligible. And we know that in the twelfth century lives of the Saint were extant in their language.

This we learn from the testimony of St. Aelred of Rievaulx, who was requested by the brethren of the convent of Whithern to compose a life of their Patron Saint in Latin. In an Introduction addressed to them, he speaks of the disadvantage arising from the life of the Saint only existing in a barbarous language, (or being written in a barbarous style) which obscured his history, and interfered with the pleasure and edification of the readers. It seems to be implied that more than one life was extant in Celtic, and perhaps in Latin, but that very rude and barbarous, and that St. Aelred selected as the groundwork of his life the one which seemed to him the most authentic. And it is possible that a life referred to by Archbishop Usher, as existing among the Irish, may be the representative of some of the others.

We regard this life then, as representing what St. Aelred considered the most authentic account then existing of St. Ninian, an account not improbably, in tradition at least, almost contemporaneous with the Saint, and supplying the information which Bede and Alcuin possessed respecting him.

Of the authority of St. Aelred as a biographer, little need be said. He, whom even Bale calls a second St. Bernard, was endued with that kindred sanctity which fitted him to be the biographer of a Saint ; and his education in the Scottish court and long friendship with the king, and in particular his connexion with Fergus, the lord of Galloway, and his labours for the restoration of religion in that country, as it led him to tread in the footsteps of St. Ninian, would enable him to ascertain all that could be learnt of authority respecting him.

The work was written towards the close of his own life, between 1153 and 1166. It agrees in style with

his other works, and is every way worthy of him. Being intended for spiritual reading and edification, it contains much that is inserted for that end, and throws the sentiments which might be supposed to influence the Saint into the dramatic form of a soliloquy or speech. Perhaps in one or two points it is liable to the charge of anachronism, from the writer's imagining the existence of the customs of his own time, in the days of which he is writing. It is a singular gift in a writer to be able to strip himself of the habits of thought to which he has ever been familiarized, or even constantly to keep in mind that practices existing in his own day are of recent origin. It ought to be added, that St. Aelred's Life bears internal marks of truth, from its correspondence with other history in minute points of chronology, with the circumstances and habits of the age, and with the distinctions of the tribes who occupied the country, as the researches of the latest writers have determined them. Indeed from St. Aelred to the present century, almost all who have written about St. Ninian have fallen into some error or other from which he seems to be free. This life soon became a popular work in our monasteries, if we may argue from the numerous copies which seem to have been made.

It was abridged by John of Tinmouth, and from him was inserted by Capgrave in his collection. It has received the highest sanction from the Scottish Church, as selections from it were read as Lessons for St. Ninian's day, in the Aberdeen Breviary. There are copies made within a few years after St. Aelred's death, in the Bodleian and the British Museum; and it has been printed, though without the Intro-

duction, by Pinkerton, in a collection of old Lives of Scottish Saints.

Later writers mention further circumstances respecting St. Ninian, but we have little evidence of their truth. They may in some cases be regarded as traditional stories, and have credit given to them as not being intrinsically improbable, in others the silence of St. Aelred respecting them may be taken as a fair proof that he did not know, or did not believe them. The Irish life referred to by Archbishop Usher does not appear entitled to much consideration.

CHAPTER II.

St. Ninian's early Days.

THE date of St. Ninian's birth must be placed about the middle of the fourth century. Alford has given 360. We may rather conceive it to have been a few years earlier, as in 357, so as to make him forty years of age at his consecration as a Bishop, in 397.

His name has been variously written and pronounced. We now uniformly call him Ninian, as he has usually been called in England, and so his name is given in the Roman Martyrology and by St. Aelred. In Bede, however, the name is Nynias, in William of Malmesbury Ninas, in other writers Ninus. In Scotland he is popularly called Ringan, the word being pronounced Rin'nan, or Rinnian, or, (as in the Shetland Isles) Ronyan. In Ireland, both Ringan and Ninian. How the difference in the first letter arose (for the

rest is much the same in pronunciation) we have no means of conjecturing.

The father of the Saint, as his biographer explicitly states, was a British Prince. To appreciate however the condition of such a person in the age of St. Ninian, we must forget the associations which we usually connect with the Ancient Britons. This was no longer a country occupied by wild savages, with half naked and painted bodies, who lived in assemblages of miserable huts, buried in woods and protected by morasses. This state of things might exist in those parts of the Island which were unsubdued or unoccupied by the Romans ; but those in which they had now for three centuries been predominant, had, like their other provinces, become assimilated to the habits of the conquerors.

Under this transforming system, a complete change had been made in the appearance of the country and the habits of the people. Forests had been cleared, marshes drained, bridges thrown over the rivers, and roads formed, intersecting the whole island, and affording speedy and secure communication. Towns sprung up, which imitated the cities of the continent. They had their temples, basilicas, and theatres adorned with painting and sculpture ; their shows and exhibitions. So that in a period of three hundred years, Britain advanced in wealth and prosperity, and her artisans rivalled in activity and skill those of the continent ; "every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, was accumulated in this rich and fruitful province." The remains which are still left among us, bespeak the advance of luxury and civilization. The tessellated pavement, the marble bath, the elegant vase, tell what

Roman taste had produced in England ; while we still use, after a lapse of sixteen hundred years, the roads which her labour formed.

With these changes there rose up a corresponding alteration in the native population. They became Romans ; filled the ranks of the legions ; acquired the rights of citizens, and naturally imitated, as the model of refinement and civilization, the dress, language, and manners of the Italian. The British language still continued as the mother tongue of the great body of the people, but even that was in a measure Latinized, and among the higher classes, Latin was generally spoken. The pleadings of the courts were conducted in it, and the British youth were taught to speak it by their grammarians and rhetoricians, whose instructions formed the chief part of Roman education. Even in the days of Agricola Latin was cultivated, and the natives excelled in eloquence ; the sons of the British chieftains received a Roman education, and began to adopt the Roman dress ; and in the fourth century, these beginnings had issued in the complete assimilation of the Provincial to the Roman habits ; and the son of a British prince may be conceived not to have differed much, in point of manners and civilization, from the inhabitants of any other part of the empire.

Alford, indeed, smiles at the flattery of his biographer, in exalting the Saint to the worldly distinction of the son of a king. St. Aelred, however, or his Galwegian authority, was quite aware of the meaning of this title when applied to a British chief. He says, in speaking of Tudual, a petty prince in Galloway, "That the whole island was divided into portions subject to different kings." Like the other Celtic nations,

the Britons consisted of distinct tribes, with various subdivisions of septs and clans, each under its own chieftain, and these subordinated to a superior one. Thus the four Kings whom Cæsar speaks of in the one kingdom of Kent. These national subordinations, living on under, and through, the Roman period, and naturally prevailing most on the outskirts of the empire, are supposed to have been the origin of the clans of the Scottish border. St. Aelred would identify the position of the father of our Saint, with the kings who governed the whole of the Cumbrian Britons till within the memory of his own time; though this is giving him a wider extent of authority than he probably possessed.

To suppose St. Ninian the son of one of the minor chieftains under the Roman sway, is not assigning him a very high or improbable distinction. These kings, indeed, from their lands, or the contributions of their tribes, often acquired considerable wealth, and this coincides with what is said by his biographer of the sacrifice he made in relinquishing his father's house and his prospects in Britain, as well as with all we hear of his education, and his acquaintance with the full extent of theological teaching, which his own country could supply.

St. Ninian's father then was a petty chieftain of a British tribe, and, as we should infer from St. Aelred's description, on the north-west coast of Cumberland. It is true that the claim of Cumberland to this her one only native Saint may be disputed, and the right we have to introduce St. Ninian into a series of English Saints. For two other parts of the island have been generally assigned. On the one hand, though without any alleged ground so far as we can ascertain, North Wales is stated

to have been his birth-place by Leland, Bale, and others ; while he has most commonly been regarded as a native of Scotland, and it has not unnaturally been supposed that he was born near Whithern, the seat of his future Bishopric ; not unnaturally, because it was to labour for the restoration of religion among his own countrymen, primarily, that he was sent from Rome. The inhabitants of Galloway, however, were of one and the same race with the Britons of Cumberland, and so were really his countrymen, even if he were born in Cumberland ; and as we go on it will appear that his mission at first was not directed to Whithern, but that after landing and preaching in his native country, he chose that as his permanent abode. St. Aelred is certainly an unprejudiced witness. His authority was a Galwegian life, and he was writing his narrative for the Church of Galloway, and he had strong affections for that country. Still he states, as the received opinion of his day, that the coast of Cumberland by the Solway was the birth-place of the Saint. His words are, "in that district, as it is thought, which lying in the western parts of the island, (where the sea, stretching out, as it were, an arm, and forming two angles on each side, separates what are now the kingdoms of the Scotch and English) is proved, not only by the authority of histories, but also by the memory of some persons, to have had kings of its own, even to the latest times of the Saxons."¹ This arm of the sea

¹ "In ea, ut putatur, regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insulæ partibus (ubi Oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit) constituta, usque ad novissima Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum historiarum fide, sed quorundam quoque memoriâ comprobatur."

is evidently the Solway, which on the cession of Cumberland to Henry II., 1153, became the boundary of the two kingdoms ; and it was on the western shore of the Island, and in a district which had kings of its own, “*usque ad novissima Anglorum tempora* ;” that is, till the end of the Saxon times. The Cumbrian Britons had kings of their own till the year 946, when the last of their princes, Dunmail, fell in defence of their narrow territories, and Edmund gave the conquered country to the Scottish kings. The British inhabitants continued as a separate race in the time of St. Aelred, and took a conspicuous part in the Battle of the Standard.

It is quite clear that Galloway was not the country intended, for it had Lords of its own, who were in power in Aelred's day, and some time after ; and as he was on terms of intimate friendship with Fergus, the then lord, he would certainly not speak of them as matter either of history or tradition.

Pinkerton indeed in a note on St. Aelred's life, supposes as others had done, that Strathclydd, the Scottish portion of the great northern settlement of Britons, is the district referred to. But there are these objections to the view. Strathclydd which lies on the opposite side of the Solway, and stretches to the Clyde, would scarcely have been described as in the western parts, in connexion with the mention of that sea, as it is its south-eastern coast only which abuts upon the Solway. Again, though the Strathclydd race of kings had continued till 975, or perhaps 1018, when there is the last mention of the inhabitants of Strathclydd as having a king ; yet it does not appear why they should be mentioned in connexion with the Angli—the Saxons—who had not occupied

that district for some centuries previously, and then only for a short time and very partially. Indeed the "*usque ad novissima Anglorum tempora*" would not seem to have any meaning as regarded any part of Scotland, where, in St. Aelred's days, the Angli still continued in as much power as at any previous time.¹

And there is a remarkable confirmation of our view in Leland's account; for though he represents North Wales as Ninian's birth-place, and throughout his history differs materially from St. Aelred, yet he says that the country the Saint first visited as a missionary, was the coast of Cumberland, "between St. Bees Head and Carlisle," and Galloway. This is what we conceive him to have done, supposing that part of Cumberland to have been his birth-place, and so far it coincides with St. Aelred's account, that he first went to his native place; except that Leland, quite erroneously it would seem, places that missionary visit before, instead of after, his residence at Rome.

It is allowed that St. Aelred's description is obscure, but to suppose it to describe the Cumbrian coast, seems the most natural interpretation. Let us then assume that St. Ninian is an English and a Cumbrian Saint. In that case he would be one of the great tribe of Brigantes, who occupied the whole of the Northern counties of England. The district where he was born was

¹ The name Cumbria was given to the whole district occupied by the Cwmry, in Scotland and the north of England, sometimes including even Galloway. The Scottish part was called Strathelydd; the English, to which the name of Cumberland was afterwards appropriated, Reged. We must not, therefore, claim the authority of writers who call St. Ninian a native of Cumbria, as they may have meant, of the Scottish portion.

in those days one of considerable importance. It lay close to the wall of Severus, which there came to its western limit, and for the defence of this line, a very large proportion of the Roman forces was stationed in the neighbourhood ; and it was near the point where the great line of road through York to Carlisle terminated. These circumstances made the district a busy and excited one, and gave many opportunities of intercourse with the Romans, and the rest of the world. Still it was the busy scene of camps and warfare, for the country was intersected by roads, and filled by garrisons ; and its position on the Scottish border must even then have made it a restless and unsettled dwelling-place.

In a religious point of view, it is possible that this free intercourse may have brought a knowledge of the Gospel earlier amongst the natives of this district, than of others which were in actual distance less remote. We know so little of the religious history of Britain at this time, that we must judge much by probabilities, and the parallels of other countries. There had long been a Bishop at York, and probably the small size of the island would have promoted a more general conversion of the people than in France, where, at the same period, a large portion of the country were still unconverted. In the towns, Christian Churches would be established ; but in country districts, the people might still be to a great extent pagan. Indeed, it was to complete the conversion of the inhabitants of the western side of the island, as well as to root out the errors which prevailed among those who were Christians, that St. Ninian was many years after sent back from Rome. That the father of St. Ninian was a Christian, is mentioned as a distinction.

We might probably infer, from the prince of the district having accepted the gospel, that it would be promoted among his countrymen, that Churches were built, and clergy fixed among them. St. Ninian's reverence for Churches is mentioned by his biographer, as a mark of his youthful piety. Now, not far from the sea-coast, in the very part of Cumberland where we conceive St. Ninian to have been born, and of which his father was the chieftain, there is a church, the architecture of which has been supposed to indicate its being built during the Roman occupation of Britain—that of Newton Arloch, in the parish of Holme Cultram. It is, then, not an improbable conjecture, that this church, which, unlike the rest of the British churches, was built of stone, may have been connected with the family of our Saint. Shall we imagine its erection the work of the British prince, and his son baptized, and praying there? Or the fruit of the return of the Saint from Rome, when, as his Cathedral at Whithern was built of stone, a corresponding work of piety was performed, in the rebuilding the Church of his native district. Anyhow, if such, as is by no means improbable, be the age of the Church, and this the birthplace of St. Ninian, we cannot but connect them with each other.

The very circumstance that Christians were living surrounded by a heathen population, assisted them to realize that they were a distinct people, enjoying peculiar privileges, and under especial obligations, separated from the world, as in profession, so in duties and in destinies. It was a state which gave a vivid force to the language of the New Testament, and a manifest visibility to the Church; and their faith may well be supposed to have been united to personal earnestness

and conviction, to actual renunciation of the world, and a life corresponding to their calling. Such the father of Ninian is said to have been ; “one of such faith and merit, as to be thought worthy of a son through whom the deficiencies in the faith of his own people might be supplied, and a distinct tribe (the Southern Picts) brought to a participation in the mysteries of our Holy religion.”

His mother has been supposed to be one of a family of Saints. The notion is not unnatural. In those days, when the few names we know are those of Saints, we should wish to imagine that they, at least, knew, and were connected with, each other. And the instances in sacred history, the selection of families for privileges, the rewarding the children for the piety of their parents, and the obvious effects of association, common education, and mutual intercession, would lead us to think it likely. All this would suggest the notion, till it passed into a probability, and guesses became reports, and their very likelihood made men believe them. Thus one would account for the tradition, that the mothers of St. Ninian and St. Patrick, whose name is said to have been Conch. or Conchessa, were sisters of St. Martin of Tours ; thus uniting, by the ties of blood, these holy men. This statement, as regards the mother of St. Ninian, is found in a MS. Catalogue of Saints, at Louvain, and in Hector Boethius, and other later writers, of little authority. But to say nothing of the improbability that the daughters of a Roman officer, in Pannonia or Italy, should have married two Britons, the life of St. Aelred would be decisive against it. It is not to be supposed that he should not have known it, had it in his day been matter of probable tradition. Yet he

not only omits it, but implies that St. Ninian's knowledge of St. Martin arose from the *Life of the Saint*, by Sulpicius.

A brother is mentioned by St. Aelred, in the later part of St. Ninian's life, as his companion in his episcopal travels in Galloway. His name was Plebeius ; and he is spoken of as his equal in sanctity. He, probably, was one who stayed in his father's house, and on the return of Ninian from Rome, became his fellow-labourer in the conversion of their countrymen, and his helper, by example and admonition, in personal holiness.

Born of such parents, our Saint "was in infancy regenerated in the sacred waters of Baptism." So his biographer begins his history—with the first element of spiritual life, the source of all his graces ; and very beautifully does he describe the preservation of the purity then imparted. We might, indeed, wish to know the circumstances by which the youthful Saint was surrounded ; the events which befel him, and the temptations he surmounted ; but it seems as if we were to view him as Angels might love to do, in his true spiritual condition, looking only to the Divine work in him, not to those temporary and earthly accidents by which it was carried out ; for of them no record is left us. It is this inward life only which St. Aelred records, and the graces in which it developed itself. We must imagine the outward circumstances of his condition as best we may.

"The wedding garment," he says, "which he then put on," that pure bright clothing of the soul by the gifts of grace, which the white robes of the new-baptized figured, "he preserved unsullied." Such was his special blessedness ; as one of those virgin souls which

follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. "Victorious over his faults"—those tendencies to evil which remain in the soul, like the Canaanites in Israel, to exercise the Christian warrior in watchfulness and obedience—"he presented it, spotless as it was, in the presence of Christ. And coming thus pure for the gift of Confirmation, he deserved, by the sanctity of his character, to have, as the enlightener of his holy heart, that Holy Spirit whom at first he had received to purify it."

"Under this Divine Guide, whilst still a child, yet with no childish mind, he shrunk from everything contrary to religion, from all that was opposed to chastity, to right conduct, or the laws of truth; and ceased not to cultivate with the understanding of a man all that was of the law, of grace, of good report, whatever was of service to his neighbour and acceptable to God."

The circumstances of this holy childhood we must imagine—the examples of religious parents, the blessedness of a house where no sentiment unfavourable to piety was ever heard, the training of a saintly mother, his first lisping prayers, his reverend introduction to the Church. His first lessons in sacred reading, his little playmates, his youthful trials, his first schooling; of these we only know that their influence issued in his sanctification and growth in grace. One means of this, St. Aelred specially intimates—the study of Holy Scripture, that meditative study which is the only way to let its truths take a deep and sure root in the heart.

"Blessed," his Life proceeds, "was he whose delight was in the Law of the Lord; in His Law did he meditate day and night. He was like a tree planted

by the water side, which brought forth his fruit in due season."

This fruit was abundantly produced in the after-life of St. Ninian. Let us observe the preparation for it ; the early practice of meditating on Holy Scripture, by withdrawing the thoughts from dissipating objects, and calmly and silently turning them to God ; dwelling upon His word, and extracting from it all its sweetness. This is that studying, exercising one's self in, meditating, thinking on it, which we hear so much of in the Psalms. It is very important to accustom children to this practice, that they may not merely read over certain portions of Scripture, but, taking a few verses, dwell on them in silence, endeavouring to enter into their meaning, to realize what they contain, and apply it to themselves. "To read little and think much," is a rule of Bishop Taylor's.

But in subordination to this sacred reading and meditation, we cannot doubt that Ninian had all those advantages of secular learning which Britain afforded ; and these were not inconsiderable. At the neighbouring town of Lugubalia, our Carlisle, he would have the means of acquiring the preparatory learning of the encyclical course,¹ as no doubt the military establishments in the neighbourhood would induce even a higher class of teachers than ordinary to resort thither.

At York, which was in turns with London the seat of government, still greater opportunities would be afforded for completing his secular studies ; and the zeal and earnestness with which he would avail himself of them, his after history will abundantly testify.

¹ See Life of St. German, No. IX. of this series, pp. 14, 15.

Of his character in this part of his life St. Aelred writes, describing it as the fruit which in its season was brought forth from his continual meditation on the divine law, and the purifying and enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit. "He brought forth his fruit in due season," he says, "fulfilling in riper years what he had with the utmost devotion learnt in youth. His devout reverence for Churches was wonderful ; wonderful his affection for his companions. He was temperate in food, sparing in words, assiduous in reading. His manners were engaging, he abstained from jesting, and ever subjected the flesh to the spirit."

CHAPTER III.

St. Ninian's Riper Years.

PROCEEDING (we may well suppose) from this spiritual mind, and the fruit of it, was that mental energy and resolution which soon distinguished him. Indeed it could not fail to be so. It is matter of common observation, how remarkably the understanding of a poor and uneducated man is developed by religious earnestness. Such a one is awakened from sluggish indifference. The end of his being is set before him, and he feels that he has duties to discharge. The value of Christian knowledge begins to be appreciated, meditation on divine truths expands the faculties, and leads him to see the connexion of religious ideas ; and love of the Object of Whom something is known, creates a holy eagerness to know more.

The young and noble Briton, with few advantages

indeed, yet earnestly desirous to use those few, had more given. He began in careful self-government, unfeigned reverence for Holy things, in sweetness of temper and purity of heart. The Holy Spirit whose first fruits were love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, self control, imparted in due season and fuller measure his sevenfold gifts. Such is the true course of attaining divine wisdom. Holy Scripture, in enumerating these gifts, mentions first that which is the highest, and therefore the last attained ; in the actual order they are inverted, and become the steps of wisdom ; first is *fear*, the beginning of wisdom, fear of offending God and losing our souls ; then *reverence* for every manifestation of the Divine will and His truth ; hence *knowledge* imparted to the docile heart ; then *counsel* guiding us to choose our course each day aright ; then resoluteness and *strength* to adhere to it ; *understanding* readily to discern the Divine will and to enter into the meaning of His words ; and lastly, as the crowning point, *wisdom* in the contemplation and perception of the highest truth.

Far different in its origin is that unpractical temper which would treat the truths of our most Holy Faith as matters of mere intellectual knowledge, and seek to know what is and what may be said about them, in a curious and disputatious spirit, tampering with most sacred things. Such a temper can only end in darkness, ignorance, and error, even if it retains the outward expression of the truth ; for it is quite compatible with the neglect of relative duties, self-indulgence, angry passions, and gross habitual violations of the divine law. Nay, from its offensiveness to Almighty God, and profane familiarity in His most Holy Presence, and the hardening of a heart which has been

accustomed to close the affections and the will against the most influential truths, it is most likely to lead to falling away from grace and final departure from God.

But far different was the case of St. Ninian ; humility, purity, and love, were the elements of his character. In him holiness of heart was the principle which led to an earnest desire after divine knowledge. There was One Supreme Object of his affections, and on that same Object his thoughts would ever be fixed : where the heart is kept in the love of God, the mind will turn to the knowledge of Him. And it was the working of this simple principle which determined the course of his life. He had been taught the principles of the faith, and he sought to realize more and more what is revealed respecting the Heavenly Father, and the Eternal Son and the Holy Ghost. He was constant in drinking in at the fountain of Eternal Life in the Scriptures, and tracing there the manifestations of the truth ; and the result was a yearning after a more exact knowledge of Religious Truth, after that Truth which would be consistent with itself, and harmonize with the statements of Holy Writ.

“ Before the mind,” it has been said, “ has been roused to reflection and inquisitiveness about its own acts and impressions, it acquiesces, if religiously trained, in that practical devotion to the Blessed Trinity, and implicit acknowledgement of the Divinity of Son and Spirit, which Holy Scripture at once teaches and exemplifies.” “ But as the intellect is cultivated and expanded, it cannot refrain from the attempt to analyze the vision which influences the heart, and the Object in which it centres. Nor does it stop here, till it has, in some sort, succeeded in expressing in words, what has all along been a principle both of the affections and of practical obedience.”

Such seems to have been the state of St. Ninian's mind ; and a most critical period it was in his spiritual history. For whereas the Divine arrangement is, to provide, by the gradual teaching of the Church, that knowledge which the religious mind desires, the circumstances of the British Church at that time failed to supply it. His heart would have responded to the notes of truth, but they were not truly and clearly heard.

It is not a pleasing task to depreciate the estimate which may have been formed of the religious condition of Britons at any period ; but a writer of St. Ninian's life cannot avoid the subject ; it stands full in his way, for the whole of our history turns upon the fact that the teaching of the British Church at that time was very imperfect and erroneous. His biographer is explicit on this point, and the evidence from other sources inclines the same way. Bede's statement as to the prevalence of Arianism, does not imply merely that when the British bishops consented to the suppression of the true doctrine at Ariminum, our church, like the rest of Christendom, wondered to find itself Arian. On the contrary, he speaks of a peculiar prevalence of error here ; an infection of Arianism first, and that followed by every form of heresy ; and the cause he assigns for it in the fickleness of the national character, would lead us to expect what he intimates, the inconsiderate reception of errors, and the want of any sound or stable teaching of the truth ; "*novi semper aliquid audire gaudenti, et nihil certi firmiter obtinenti.*"

Nor is it at all inconsistent with this, to believe that the Bishops adhered to the Nicene formulary, and that such was the profession of the British Church gene-

rally. In 353, they had unwillingly yielded at Ariminum, but in 363, St. Athanasius, in his letter to Jovian, enumerates them among a long list of nations who acknowledged the Creed of Nice. Persons might agree to the form in which the Catholic doctrine was expressed, and feel shocked at the idea of separating themselves from the faith and communion of the whole Church, and yet not have any deep hold on the truth itself, or, when they came to explain what they meant, any accurate knowledge of it. We may well imagine more active minds openly Arianizing ; more religious and less intellectual ones obscure and inconsistent in their statements, and quite unfit to teach dogmatically ; and this would coincide with the fact of the Bishops submitting under their trials to an Arianizing formula.

St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom have repeatedly, indeed, been referred to, as witnessing to the orthodoxy of the British Church, but the passages really bear very slightly on the subject, and rather suggest a different view ; for in each case the mention of Britain is introduced to establish the universal prevalence of the practice they are speaking of ; it existed even in Britain ; and Britons were regarded as very exiles from the rest of the world. "The Gospel has prevailed over heathenism," argues St. Chrysostom ;¹ "besides the Seythians, Moors, and Indians, even the British Isles have felt its power, and churches and altars are established there." "That it is not lawful to have a brother's wife, resounded even in Britain," besides other remote and barbarous countries. Again, in a passage more to the point, of which the beauty itself

¹ St. Chrys. tom. 10. 638, tom. 1. 575, tom. 3. 71, Ed. Ben. are the references made by Stillingfleet.

will be an excuse for quoting it at length, speaking of the study of the Holy Scriptures, he compares them to a "Paradise of Delight, not like that of Eden confined to one place, but filling the whole earth, and extending to the utmost bounds of the habitable world. 'Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world.' Go to the Indians," he says, "on whom the rising sun first looks ; to the Ocean, to those British Isles (so does he speak of us) ; sail to the Euxine ; go to far southern climes ; everywhere will you hear all professing the philosophy of the Scriptures ; with different voice, but no different faith ; the tongues discordant, but the minds in unison."

But beautiful as the passage is, and comforting as the sentiment it contains, yet it is much too general and rhetorical in its style, to found any accurate view upon. The passage quoted from St. Jerome¹ is from a letter from SS. Paula and Eustochia to St. Marcella, wishing her to come to visit the holy places in Palestine. Their spiritual guide, St. Jerome, was supposed to have composed it, and so it passed under his name, but the Benedictine editors are of opinion that it was not written by him. "Christians," they say, "from all the world visit those sacred places. The Briton separated from our world, if he has made any progress in religion, leaving the setting sun, seeks a place known to him only by report and the mention of it in Scripture."

There does not seem in these passages anything to oppose the distinct statement of Bede, as to the prevalence of error. Their tone would rather lead us to

¹ Ep. ad. Marc. tom. 4. p. 2. 441, Ed. Ben. There are several other passages in Jerome to the same effect.

think that the British Church was not very highly esteemed by the rest of Christendom. And quite consistent with this was their condition, when the Bishops in vain endeavoured to resist the progress of Pelagianism. The life of St. Ninian certainly represents the state of the Church to have been such that he could find no complete teaching of the truth, and that it was on account of the errors which prevailed, that he returned as a missionary among them.

As respects schools for theological teaching, there does not seem to be evidence of any previous to the visit of St. Germanus, except perhaps the monastery of Benchor ; and it is doubtful whether this existed at the time of which we are speaking. That there were such schools, however, is not questioned. Indeed, there were among the contemporaries of Ninian, some whose character for learning was acknowledged throughout the Church. Pelagius and Cælestius, sad as is the remembrance attached to their names, were men of distinguished talents and learning. The former, born 354, it has been said, was educated at Benchor, and became superior of it in 404.¹ His abilities and accomplishments were recognized by the best and greatest Doctors ; he was on terms of familiar intercourse and correspondence with SS. Jerome, Augustine, and Paulinus, and highly esteemed and loved by them. The writings of Cælestius, a native of Scotland or Ireland, before he became heretical, were universally admired for their orthodoxy, learning, and virtuous tendency. Somewhat later, St. Patrick flourished, and Fastidius and Faustus later still.

But even if there were schools of theological learn-

¹ Usher de Prim. B. E. p. 207.

ing where such men were trained, of what use could they be, if they did not hold that faith which it was their duty to teach? There may be existing in a country an ample establishment of places of education for every age and every rank, yet what are they worth if the truth has departed? It is the body when the spirit has fled; the salt without its savour; the lamp unsupplied with oil. It is worse. Not teaching the truth must be training the mind in error. And it is not wonderful, though Britain about this time did send out men of distinguished talents, that those who did not humbly seek instruction elsewhere were more or less heretical. Pelagius and Cælestius were almost contemporary with Ninian and Patrick. How remarkable is the different issue of the histories of these fellow-countrymen. Ninian, (and as some say, Patrick too,) with little name for learning, and in their lifetime probably little known in this world, pursue the course of humility and obedience, seek the City for no earthly object, but for the inestimable pearl, the knowledge of Christ—cultivating a saintly character, and prepared at the bidding of their superiors to leave the privileges, and happiness there enjoyed, for the arduous office of converting their heathen and barbarous countrymen. Pelagius and Cælestius, passing from, it may be, the more civilized parts of the island, looked up to, even in Rome, as distinguished men, enjoy the society and esteem of the learned and the saintly—attain name and distinction in the Church—follow their own ways, and leave their memories branded with the awful note of heresy. Of Pelagius's numerous works scarcely a fragment remains. "I went by and lo! he was gone; I sought him but his place could no where be found." "They are like the chaff which the wind scattereth away from

the face of the earth." But "the righteous live for evermore, and his memory is blessed."

But to pursue the course of St. Ninian's history. The time we are speaking of is probably prior to the year 380, and so before the Council of Constantinople A.D. 381, had finally destroyed the Arian party. Then it was that the earnest desire of learning the true faith took entire possession of St. Ninian's mind. He sought instruction from the best teachers his own Church afforded, but could not obtain it. He felt their teaching was imperfect. It did not harmonize with what he knew was true, nor accord with those Scriptures which he had ever studied. He had a teacher within—that inward and divinely kindled Light which illumines the mind of many an unlettered peasant, and gives him a real perception and understanding of the truths of the Creed, and of the sense of Holy Scripture. He had learned the elementary truths of the Gospel, and a religious life had impressed them on his mind as living realities. Thus much light was thrown on the meaning of those Holy Scriptures on the thought of which he had lived from a child. For the knowledge of the Rule of Faith, as St. Aelred, with the primitive fathers, calls the system of Christian Doctrine, was an entering into the very mind of the Spirit, which is the true key to the understanding of His most holy Words. That mind is expressed in various forms, pervading every part of Psalm and Prophecy, History and Epistle; and we shall best understand them, not by critical investigations into the meaning of words, but by learning more of the mind of the Author; just as one who knows but in a very slight degree the views of a writer, will apprehend his meaning with readiness and certainty, while one who weighs the words and criticises their

force with the utmost jealousy, will find them full of ambiguity and uncertainty, and at last arrive at a doubtful and probably erroneous conclusion. The Scriptures had been the subject of his constant study and meditation from early youth—of a practical, devout study, that they might be the guide of his life and the model he aimed to imitate, and now the hidden things they contain were being revealed to him, and continually more light thrown upon them, as they were made more practical, and connected with the truths of the Creed.

With this inward perception of Divine Truth, St. Ninian could perceive the inconsistencies of the teaching of the British Ecclesiastics, and its discrepancy from the Scriptures. In him were the words made good, "I have more understanding than my teachers, for Thy testimonies are my study. I am wiser than the aged, because I keep Thy commandments."

Disappointed of help where he most naturally and dutifully looked for it, what was he to do? It was not perhaps to be expected that he should be led into a perfect knowledge of the truth by the light within, independently of external teaching. In the case indeed of an accomplished and highly illuminated teacher, or one precluded from the means of instruction, or as a gift of special grace, one would not presume to limit its possible range. In such cases the development of truth by holy and loving meditation, and devout study of Holy Scripture, may surpass conception. But to St. Ninian the means of further instruction were open, though at a great and trying sacrifice, that of forsaking his home and all that was dear to him on earth.

Before, however, this step was taken, whilst he sought for further teaching, we may conceive his

trials to have been very great. There was the temptation to indifference, to seek no more of that which he already had in a larger measure than most around him, and to turn the thirstings of his ardent mind to those objects, (such as they were,) which occupied the thoughts and aims of most of the young nobles of his time ; and the checks and difficulties he met with would suggest themselves as reasons for such a course. But he was not disposed to feed on the husks of swine after having tasted of that which was sweeter than honey and the honeycomb, more to be desired than gold and all manner of riches—the knowledge of Him who passeth knowledge.

On the other hand, there was the temptation to rest in what he knew, in intellectual self-satisfaction, to feel pride in superior attainments, to point out the errors of others, and argue on the illogicalness of their conclusions—to shew that they could not prove what they maintained, and to make a display. But surely no earnest mind could do this. It was the truth which he desired to know ; to be thought to know it was matter of indifference to him. To prove others wrong could but be an occasion of sorrow, unless it aided himself and them in attaining truth.

A more subtle temptation remained ; to throw himself on the resources of his own mind, to trust to the deductions of his own intellect, either from the text of Holy Scriptures or the doctrines he had already been taught. For this he was too humble. The immensity and awfulness of the subject, and the consciousness of his own imperfections, both of will and understanding, might well make him draw back from so perilous and uncertain a work. Reverence would shrink from touching with a young and uninformed

mind subjects which it only regarded as objects of veneration. Moses was bidden to put his shoes from off his feet before he approached the Holy One. The cherubim cover their heads against the dazzling brightness of the earthly manifestations of Divine glory. It is only where the mind has been trained into the knowledge of the faith, and is influenced by great sanctity and humility, that it can safely use the reason in matters of faith. Others must be content, and if they have the elements of holiness, will be desirous, only to be taught by those of higher attainments than themselves.

What then was he to do ? St. Aelred thus describes his state. "He intently applied his mind to the study of Holy Scripture ; and when he had, in their way, learnt the Rule of Faith from all the most learned of his own nation, being possessed of a discerning mind, he perceived, according to the understanding he had himself by Divine inspirations gained from Scripture, that they fell far short of perfection. Hence his mind was thrown into uncertainty ; and unable to rest in incomplete knowledge, his heart swelled within him ; he sighed ; his heart grew hot within him, and while he was thus musing the fire kindled. What, he said, shall I do ? I have sought in my own country for Him whom my soul loveth, and have not found Him. I will arise ! I will compass sea and land ! I will seek that truth which my soul loveth !"

In this state of mind Rome naturally presented itself as the place to which he should have recourse. She, who for centuries had been the queen of nations, was now attaining a greater glory, as the chief Church of Christendom, the centre of the Christian world—the home of faith and devotion—the point to which all that

was great and good drew as to a safe refuge. High as was her bearing in the eye of the world, yet greater still was the interest which attached to her in the eyes of a Christian. Man saw her noble edifices, her wealth, her power ; yet that outward kingdom and glory was but a shell to guard an inner principle of life, and was now breaking in pieces to allow of its development. Here was a Church which the chief of the Apostles had founded and taught, and for which they had shed their blood ; a Church which had carefully preserved the faith as it had received it, by the Holy Ghost dwelling in it. To her, as a guide, the chief writers of the western Church had directed those who sought to know the truth ; and during the long Arian struggle, she had been the main support of the faith ; and the purity of her belief, and the completeness of her teaching were known and acknowledged by all.

“To this Church,” St. Irenæus had said long ago, “on account of its higher original, all Churches must have recourse.” And Tertullian, “Go to the Apostolic Churches to learn the faith. If thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority close at hand. Blessed Church ! on which the Apostles poured their doctrine with their blood. Let us see what she hath learned, what she hath taught.” This was the Church, which the Council of Antioch shortly before had called “the School of the Apostles and the Metropolis of Religion ;” and Theodosius in an edict, published just at this time, A. D. 380, respecting faith in the ever blessed Trinity, commanded that all the nations under his rule “should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition had preserved, which

was now professed by Pope Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria."

These are the sentiments St. Aelred attributes to St. Ninian, in a soliloquy which embodies the views that might naturally be supposed to influence him. "I have in my own country sought Him whom my soul loveth, and have not found Him. I will arise, I will compass sea and land to seek the truth which my soul longs for. But is there need of so much toil? Was it not said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it? In the faith of Peter then there is nothing defective, obscure, imperfect; nothing against which evil doctrine or perverted sentiments, the gates as it were of Hell, could prevail. And where is the Faith of Peter but in the See of Peter? Thither certainly I must go, that leaving my country and my relations, and my father's house, I may be thought worthy to behold with inward eye the fair beauty of the Lord, and to be guarded by His Temple." And of the temptation which would draw him back. "The deceitful prosperity of life smiles on me—the vanity of the world is attractive—the love of my relations wiles me to stay—difficulties and personal sufferings deter. But he who loveth father and mother, saith the Lord, more than Me, is not worthy of Me, and he that taketh not up his cross and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me. I have learnt too that they who despise Kings' palaces, attain to heavenly kingdoms."

Such were his feelings. And should it seem strange to speak of a young Briton as making any great sacrifice in leaving a distinction almost nominal in a remote country, regarded as scarcely belonging to the

Roman world, for the metropolis of the empire, the seat of refinement and luxury, of taste, literature, and intellect, of all which was calculated to engage the interest and sympathy of a Christian—should it be thought that the change was one to be gladly caught at—let it be considered that it was not the leaving Britain for Rome merely, which indicated the devotion of St. Ninian. This might have been done from the lowest motives, ambition, curiosity, pleasure, and might not have implied the tearing asunder of any ties ; as many have made pilgrimages from the mere love of wandering. The circumstances and the end determine the character of the action. The sacrifice of worldly interest might have been small ; but it was a sacrifice of all he had, and that without any earthly recompense, and He who rewarded those who left their father, and all that they had, though but an interest in a fisherman's poor stock, would have accepted him.

Relatively speaking however the sacrifice was considerable. If the eldest son, he would hold the rank of Tanist, as the destined successor to the reigning king ; and his country was no longer, as we have seen, that in which the captive Prince had wondered the Romans could envy his poor cottage. Many of its Princes possessed considerable wealth ; in their days of independence they had coined gold and silver, and in all probability still continued to possess hereditary revenues. And Roman manners had introduced even into Britain objects which that wealth might purchase. Their elegant and costly works, their notoriously extravagant luxuries, show that Ninian could have found ways of expending his inheritance which the children of this world would have envied ; baths, and costly marbles, inlaid pavements, and all the elegancies of art. For

objects of ambition he might have aimed, at least, to be the chief among his countrymen ; or by engaging in the service of Rome have risen, as other provincials had done, to high distinction. Even the imperial purple was not beyond the grasp of an ambitious spirit. The British legions about this very time made Maximus Emperor, and the great Constantine has been said to be a native Briton.

But these things were seen in their true colours by Ninian. He had renounced them in his Baptism, and his heart had never returned to them. The world, with its charms of pleasure, its prospects of wealth or ambition, had no hold on him. His real trial was from a deeper attachment—affection to his friends, a sacrifice made more painful in proportion as Christian piety increased his love to them. Almighty God seems ever, as it were, to retain a hold upon us, so as to be able to inflict sharp pain for our correction, or give us the opportunity of overcoming it from love to Him ; and this especially through our affections. Men hardened by ambition, covetousness, and indifference to religion, yet retain deep and tender love for wife or child ; and the loss of them, or the sorrows which befall them, are continually means of awakening them to a sense of religion. So in those who for Christ's sake have weaned their affections from all other earthly objects, their very progress in goodness, while it gives them strength to forsake even what they best love for Him, and keeps them from setting their affections on them, yet makes their love more tender and deep, and the pain of separation in itself greater, entirely though it be compensated for by the overflowings of Divine consolations.

Such seems to have been St. Ninian's chief struggle ; but the remembrance of his Lord's calls, and the great-

ness of his promises, prevailed, and he went out where Christ seemed to call him.

It has been reported that his father had at first wished him to keep in the way of life which his birth and circumstances naturally pointed out, and that it was with great unwillingness that he yielded to his son's desire to give up the world for a life devoted to religion. This however must have been earlier, when St. Ninian gave himself up in his own country to the pursuit of religious truth. Still there is a peculiar pang when a final step is taken, which breaks off entirely hope which may against hope have been secretly cherished ; still more when that step took from their home him whose distinguishing sweetness and affectionateness must have made him beloved, whilst he was revered. But all these considerations sank before the great object he had in view, and he left his home, and as his biographers say, "like Abraham, he went out from his country and his father's house."

Two other reasons have been assigned for his visiting Rome. The first is a conjecture of Alford's, that he went to take advantage of the schools, the original of our universities, which had been established on so large a scale, and with so systematic a discipline by Valentinian. They had been instituted in 370, and with a special view to the education of provincials. It is plain, however, that this view is quite inconsistent with the picture given us by St. Aelred. It was for no advantages of secular learning that the humble and affectionate Ninian left his parents and his home. It was the need of religious teaching, of that knowledge which is life eternal, which caused and justified his sacrifice. Besides, the students were not allowed to continue after they were twenty years of age, which would make

Ninian so young on his going there, as to give an entirely different character to his visit. He would in that case appear to have been sent, as it were, to the university by his parents. It is enough to say that this is purely a conjecture, and not only without foundation, but inconsistent with the earlier histories of the Saint. Camerarius again represents his visit as occasioned by the rules of the Culdees, to whom he supposed him to belong, who required those who were to be consecrated Bishops among them, to have previously visited the *Limina Apostolorum*. But this is apparently an anachronism, as the Culdees do not appear in history till above a century after St. Ninian's time.

Leland too places the visit to Rome after he had been engaged in missionary labours in Britain ; but he gives no authorities, and mentions the subject so incidentally, and without noticing the different account given in the received Lives, that we should rather suspect him of a mistake in memory as to the Saint's history, than of so slightly opposing the best authorities for the history.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Ninian's Journey to Rome.

THE date of this journey we cannot accurately determine. It was certainly before the year 385 ; for the Pope by whom St. Ninian was consecrated and sent as a missionary to Britain was not the one in whose Pontificate he arrived in Rome. St. Siricius was his consecrator, and he was elected Pope on the death of St. Damasus in 385. Prior then to this date, and during the Popedom of St. Damasus, was the time of

St. Ninian's arrival; and we should conjecture that it was prior to the year 383, as there is not in his Life any reference to the convulsion occasioned by the revolt of Maximus, which introduced great changes into Britain and Gaul, by the emigration of a considerable portion of the British nation to Brittany. Perhaps 381 may be conjectured, when he was twenty-one years of age or upwards.

By the assistance of the Itineraries we may trace the route by which Ninian would travel from his northern home, near Carlisle, to the great city. The road began either on the south of the Solway, or in Annandale, and ran through Carlisle by Old Penrith, where a noble military way may still be traced, thence by the vale of the Eden to Brough, and over the dreary hills of Stainmoor. Here Ninian would have the last glimpse of those mountains within sight of which he had spent his youth, and the remembrance of which, with all the associations of friends and kindred, is so deeply engraven on the heart. He would cross the moorlands and travel along a road which runs by Bowes and Catterick, and which we still enjoy as an inheritance from our Roman conquerors, and so to York.

This was, as we have said, the second city of Britain, the residence of the governors, and the See of an Archbishop, and here most probably the young prince would receive commendatory letters to other Catholic Bishops, and particularly to Rome. Hence he would proceed by the great line of Watling street to London, and Sandwich. This was the port from which they sailed for Boulogne. Passing through Rheims, then an episcopal city, he would come to Lyons, that first cradle of the Church of Gaul, consecrated by the

memory of her martyrs, and her sainted Bishop, St. Irenæus. It was now a great city, but more interesting to St. Ninian, as it was now probably presided over by one who, during the period of Arian trials, had been the firm maintainer of the Catholic faith—St. Justus. He was the friend of St. Ambrose, and Bishop from 370 to 381, when he resigned his office and retired to Egypt, to embrace a monastic life, and end his days in devotion and peace.

The direct road from Lyons to Milan over the Great St. Bernard, was steep, narrow, and impassable for carriages; another from Vienne by the Little St. Bernard, was more circuitous but easier; they united at Aosto. His Biographer especially mentions that he crossed the Gallic Alps, to impress us, as it would seem, with the arduousness of a journey, terrible from its natural difficulties, and dangerous from the robbers who infested it; for not many years before St. Martin had been attacked here, and saved from murder only by a miracle.

He now entered Italy, and came among cities and Churches associated with the names and lives of Saints distinguished in the history of religion; and these would be the objects on which his thoughts would fix. Nature indeed spread before him her most sublime and then her loveliest scenery. The world presented riches and splendour. He might encounter on the road the magnificent equipages and retinue of the wealthy Roman, coaches of solid silver, mules with trappings embossed with gold, horsemen preceding to clear the way, and a train of baggage and attendants, cooks, slaves, eunuchs, marshalled like an army. But he was proof against these seductive imaginations; the *nil admirari* is not so effectually produced by any philoso-

phy as by the calm recollection of the Christian, whose guarded eye does not allow him to forget the shadowy nature of what is seen, and the reality of those things which are not seen ; and he would esteem above all the beauties of nature or of art, the Church in each place he came to, and the pious Christians whom he might meet with.

And there was one of these places which was connected in an interesting way with his own future history—Vercelli, through which the road from Lyons to Milan passed. Its late Bishop, St. Eusebius, had introduced here, for the first time in the western Church, the union of the clerical and monastic life, which was afterwards adopted by St. Ninian. St. Eusebius had died ten years before, but the system was still kept up ; and it may not be out of place here to give St. Ambrose's description of it, as it will by anticipation describe the episcopal life of St. Ninian.

The Bishop and Clergy lived together in one house, shut out from the world, and adopting the way of life of the Egyptian monks, having all things in common, and devoting their days and nights to continued prayer and praise, labour and study. "Can any thing," says the Saint, speaking of their society, "can any thing be more admirable than their way of life, in which there is nothing to fear, and every thing worthy of imitation ; where the austerity of fasting is compensated by tranquillity and peace of mind, supported by example, made sweet by habit, and cheered by virtuous occupations. A life not disturbed by temporal cares, nor distracted by the tumults of the world, nor interrupted by idle visits, nor relaxed by intercourse with the world." Thus, under the eye of the Bishop himself, Clergy were trained up, of whom he personally knew

the blamelessness, piety, and zeal ; while their characters were so esteemed, that other Churches sought their Bishops from him, and many distinguished Prelates were sent out from his school.

In after days, St. Ninian, on the coast of Galloway, might recall to his mind the time when he had seen Vercelli, and the first model of a system which, with some modifications, was soon generally embraced, both by missionaries and in settled churches, and is the original of the chapters of our cathedrals.

The road brought him from Lyons to Milan, which from the year 303 had been the chief residence of the Emperors of the west, and soon assumed the splendour of an imperial city. In the number and beauty of the houses, the gay and polished manners of the people, and the magnificence of the public buildings, it seemed to rival, and not suffer in comparison from the proximity of, Rome. In this place St. Ambrose was Bishop, and even to the eyes of the world that great man would appear the most important object in Milan. The popular voice had taken him from a high civil position to be their Bishop, and he was such an one that Theodosius recognized in him a realizing of all a Bishop ought to be. His people were devoted to him, and his influence could withstand and control the highest earthly sovereigns. And yet so simple was his life that Ninian might have seen or conversed with him. He gave himself wholly to the work of the ministry. Constant in prayer, by day and night, he slept little and fasted daily. Yet he was accessible to all. St. Augustine generally found him surrounded by crowds of persons and full of business. His time which was not thus occupied, and it was but little, was given to refreshment or reading, and he read where any one might

come to him ; no one was hindered, nor was it usual for them to be announced, so that Augustine would come and stay in the room, and leave again, unwilling to interrupt him. He preached every Sunday, and Ninian may have listened to that eloquence which melted the stubborn heart of him who afterwards was St. Augustine, and which we may read with so much admiration.

But Rome was his object, and he hastened forwards. The Via Flaminia brought him to the shore of the Adriatic, to the fatal Ariminum, connected with recollections most distressing to every Christian, and to a Briton still more so, as the scene where the Bishops of his Church had fallen into an allowance of heresy. But better days were coming to the Church ; for whilst the Eastern Bishops had met at Constantinople, and republished the Nicene Faith ; in the year 381, perhaps the very one in which St. Ninian was travelling through Italy, councils were held at Aquileia and Milan, where St. Ambrose was most distinguished for his zeal for the maintenance of the true Faith. Keeping along the coast to the Metaurus, the road there turned inland, and crossing the passes of the Apennines, led on to Rome.

And what a scene must Rome have presented to St. Ninian as he beheld it on his approach, and saw the wide gilded roof of the Capitol, or the gorgeous splendour of the Palatium rising above the innumerable buildings which surrounded them. Or as he passed through the Forums, or under the Temples or Basilicas which overhung its streets, how vast must it have appeared in the multitudes of its people, and the grandeur of its edifices. Above a million, some say many millions of inhabitants, were enclosed within a circuit of

twenty miles. The luxurious villas and gardens which were spread around it, hemmed in the portion occupied by dwellings, so that the houses rose to a tremendous and dangerous height, far exceeding the limit of 70 feet, which law had imposed ; yet these were broken by wide places around on which stood the most magnificent specimens of ancient architecture ; and porticos, arches, columns, and statues, were seen on every side. The palaces of the nobles, now numbered at nearly 2000, from their enormous establishments of slaves, were little towns of splendid architecture, with marble columns and gilded statues, each comprising within itself "every thing which could be subservient to use or luxury, forums, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, with shady groves and artificial aviaries." An overgrown population of poor and idle citizens occupied at an enormous rent the different floors and rooms of the crowded houses, intent only on the daily doles of food and the public entertainments of the Circus.

The pomp of heathen worship still remained, though its privileges and revenues were diminished. Half the senate at least still adhered to the ancient superstitions, and garlands, processions, and victims might be seen, whilst the smoke and odour of sacrifices and incense still rose on every side. The rich, unoccupied by political or mercantile pursuits, spent their days in idle and frivolous pleasures, and a continual round of dissipation. There might be seen the rich senator, in elegant and costly dress, making his way through the streets, attended by some fifty slaves ; or sailing in his barge, screened by silken awnings and listening to luxurious music. Their wealth was enormous, and it was seen in their display of gold and silver plate, the magnificence of their establishments, the number of their

slaves, and the lavish expenditure of their exhibitions and public entertainments. Luxury and refinement seemed to have reached their utmost limit, and the great metropolis of the world to be sinking down, worn out by its own effeminacy.

There were, indeed, schools of learning, supported and regulated by the state, and a great university, to which students from every part of the empire resorted, to obtain the advantage of a Roman education ; and the philosophical professor might be known by his peculiar dress. The teachers were for the most part men opposed to the Christian faith, who, by a revived and modified Platonism, explained away the grosser features of Polytheism, and put forward views of philosophy and morals, which, with the utmost zeal and talents, they opposed to the doctrines of the Gospel. Here Ammianus publicly read his admired history, the eloquent and virtuous Symmachus pleaded almost with fanaticism for the toleration of the religion of their fathers ; and the philosophers (as Eunapius and Libanius) published explanations of the popular religion, and attributed miracles to the distinguished leaders of their schools, which had not long before received a temporary patronage under the apostate Julian.

Such were the varied and strange objects which, so far as it was not Christian, Rome presented to the view of the British stranger, who now made his way along its streets. Nor indeed would the Christian community seem exempt from the corruption of the atmosphere in which it lived. Besides the Catholics, we must remember, there were numerous bodies of heretics, especially Manichees, assuming the name of Christians, and sometimes concealing themselves among

them, who endeavoured, by their subtle disputations, and professions of austerity, to gain over converts from the true faith. These were most numerous at Rome, and lived in a miserable way, dispersed through all the quarters of the city, and though professing a severe life, really given up to self-indulgence, and bringing reproach upon their name by their immoralities and crimes. Here might be seen parties of Sarabaites, vagabond and pretended monks, who lived two or three together, under no rule or government, exhibiting pretended sanctity, as a cloak for indulgence, fasting for display, and when a feast came, giving way to excess. Superstition, too, doubtless existed among the people, and vices inconsistent with the religion they professed. For the good, it has been said, are as grains among the chaff; here one and there one from the accident of their position, stand prominently out, and are discerned almost buried in the surrounding mass, which gives its own complexion to the whole. These things would strike the eye of the casual observer, and it might, perhaps, too, surprise one who had not considered that the Church was a net inclosing bad and good, and that the irreligion and superstition of the mass of men would abuse and discredit the holiest system.

If St. Ninian had not thought of this, there would doubtless be much among the Roman Christians to shock and to distress him. That Church he had looked to, as the model of excellence and the guide to truth; to be taught by her he had relinquished home and friends, and now he saw, even in her bosom, and under the very eye of the Saintly Bishop, gross and evident sin. "I know," says St. Augustine, "that there are many who adore sepulchres and pictures;"

and so by superficial or evil-disposed persons, among heretical or pagan contemporaries, the Church was accused of introducing a new idolatry of martyrs and relics, and substituting as objects of divine worship those whose tombs were consecrated by the veneration of the people.¹ "I know," proceeds the Saint, "that there are many who drink to excess on occasion of burials, and make great feasts, under pretence of religion."² Among their testimonies to their generally consistent and virtuous lives, the very heathens we find charging Christians with immorality, with the more earnestness because of its contradicting the rules they professed. Violence, party spirit, ambition, found a place among them. The election of the present Bishop—for at Rome the whole body of Christians had a voice in the choice of their Bishop—had been attended with violence and bloodshed. The clergy were often secular in their habits, endeavouring to gain favour with the rich, and using their influence to obtain legacies; so that the civil power interfered by law to check the evil. The wealthy were infected by the luxury of the age and yielded to the pleasures and dissipation common to their class. It might fall to St. Ninian's lot to witness the sad abuses which were practised on the vigil of some martyr, corrupting the holiest services to evil; abuses such that the celebrations themselves were suppressed by St. Ambrose, and the abuses provided against, by the influence of St. Augustine.

But indeed, how could it be otherwise, when the

¹ As by Eunapius and Faustus the Manichee, quoted by Gibbon, c. 28, notes 60 and 88.

² St. Aug. de Moribus Eccl. Christ. l. c. 34.

world was flocking into the Church. "In speaking against such men," is St. Augustine's answer, "you do but condemn those whom the Church herself condemns, and daily labours to correct, as wicked children. It is one thing that we are commanded to teach, another we are commanded to correct, and forced to tolerate till we can amend it." For the last seventy years the emperors had been, with few exceptions, professed Christians ; they had encouraged the same profession in others, and men influenced by the consideration of worldly interest, and with no serious sense of religion, would outwardly embrace it. And let us not forget that by doing so, faulty as the motive might be, they yet brought themselves and those dependent on them, under a holy discipline, and to the enjoyment of privileges, and inward influences, which might prevail in their children's case if not in their own, and lead them to eternal life. Still this prevalence of an external profession could not but have the effect of lowering the apparent standard of Christian holiness. It needed a counteracting influence, that the Church might still be the light of the world and the salt of the earth ; and it found it in the visible separation from the world, and eminent sanctity of those who followed out their baptismal vows by the relinquishment of all earthly ties, and the professed adoption of a religious life. The Holy virgins and monks it was who now kept alive the flame of piety, and were, so to say, the soul of the Church. And their holiness testified perpetually against the unworthy lives of others. This is ever to be kept in mind when we read (as in St. Jerome or St. Sulpicius) of the evil and worldly lives of the clergy of their time. They had before them high living standards of the devotion and sanctity

suited to the Christian calling, and saw more vividly any departure from it. It was the disciple and biographer of St. Martin, and the monk of Palestine, the admirers and advocates of perfect self-denial, and the ascetic life, who chiefly speak of the evils prevalent among Christians. That they discerned these evils implied that the principle of right, the conscience of the Church, was sensitive and whole. There are ages where Christians so lose the true standard, that they are unconscious of their loss.

This may guard us against misjudging the Church which St. Ninian now visited, whilst in endeavouring to pourtray its real condition, we repeat what contemporaries have said of the evils which existed in it.

Externally indeed the Church of Rome had now attained to great splendour and magnificence. The time had come when the wealth of the nations poured in to her, and "she decked herself with jewels as a bride doth." The very Christians who had endured the last and most trying persecution of Dioclesian, raised up more splendid Churches than he had destroyed. Long before, during her earlier persecutions, the sacred vessels were of gold and silver. Martyrs suffered because they refused to give up the holy trust, and we know the details of them from the very inventories made by the spoilers.¹ If, then, confessorship be an argument for sanctity, and sanctity for a perception of the truth, we have this authority for decking with magnificent adornings the Christian Churches, as the Jewish Temple was by Divine command. In Rome, the Basilicas had been given to the Church, noble oblong buildings, with rows of columns

¹ Bingham, 8. 6. 21.

running lengthwise, and forming, as it were, a nave and aisles. Other Churches were erected over the tombs of Martyrs, where the awful service of the Christian Sacrifice was performed, according to the majestic and simple Liturgy which the Church had received from St. Peter. The taste and magnificence of the present Pope had contributed much to adorning the sacred edifices, and enhancing the grandeur of the services. For the continuous praise of the ever blessed Trinity he had provided for the chaunting of the Psalter night and day, with the Doxology as we now use it. He had built two Basilicas, and given costly offerings of gold and silver vessels to others. Around the altars, lamps of gold, and wax lights in massive candlesticks, burnt by day and night, dispelling the natural light. The perfumed cloud of incense rose up in the solemn service of the Mass. Gold and silver vessels, and precious stones furnished and adorned the Churches, and garlands and flowers hung around ; nay, the devotion of the people made them hang up, on cords of gold, memorials in precious metals of the blessings they had received in answer to their prayers, or through the intercession of the Martyr, over whose grave the Church was raised.¹

Such were the Churches and Services of Rome, and so deeply was St. Ninian influenced by them, that his first work, on returning as a Missionary into Britain, was to build a Church after the Roman fashion, and there with the Faith of the Roman Church, to introduce her custom in the celebration of Divine offices.

¹ Bingham, 8. 8. 2.

There was one object of surpassing interest, to which first he made his way—the Churches where the martyred remains of St. Peter and St. Paul were laid. The body of St. Paul had been buried a little distance from Rome, on the Ostian road, where his Church now stands ; that of St. Peter, on the Vatican, probably by the Jewish Christians who lived in that quarter. Afterwards part of each was laid beside that of the other, in vaults in their respective Churches, that as they were lovely in their lives they might not be divided in death. These were recognized as their burial places at the end of the second century, and at this time, St. Jerome says, “the Bishops of Rome, offered the Holy Sacrifice to God over the revered bones of departed human beings, and considered their tombs as Altars of Christ.” The Vatican, where the more splendid vault and Church were placed, was known as the Confession of St. Peter and the *Limina Apostolorum*. Hither sentiments of devotion drew Christians, at this time, from all parts of the world, emperors, consuls, and generals, says St. Chrysostom, devoutly visited the sepulchres of those who in their lives had been lowly in the world, but were now exalted.

To seem to be, were it only in imagination, brought near to those chiefest of the Apostles, and most blessed Martyrs, must have been esteemed by St. Ninian a singular privilege. It is a natural sentiment which men of all ages are affected by. “We move,” said the philosophic heathen, “in those places where there are, as it were, the very footmarks of those we admire and love. For my own part Athens itself does not so much delight me by exquisite and magnificent works of art, as by calling to mind those greatest

of men ; where each was wont to live, to sit, and to discourse ; and their burial places I look on with the intensest interest." How much more to a Christian to trace in Rome the places which had been consecrated by the footsteps, the blood, the very remains, of the Apostles. To recall the image of St. Paul, the aged prisoner, his deep knowledge of Christian Truth, his zeal, his constraining eloquence, his patience, his charity ;—or of St. Peter, full of love for his Lord, of humility, of readiness to die and to prefer a death of pain for His sake. It was the belief that their spirit and doctrine were preserved here which brought St. Ninian from his distant home. Rome had killed them—Rome for which they had laboured and interceded ; and the blood of Martyrs, like that of their Lord, cries for mercy on their persecutors, and brings blessings on the Church for which they had shed their blood. So they became the life of Rome. Persons taking a mere external view saw this. Rome went to decay, and "like Thebes, Babylon, or Carthage," says the historian of her fall, "its name might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle which again restored her to honour and dominion. Two Jewish teachers," (so he speaks) "a tentmaker and a fisherman, had been executed in the circus of Nero, and five hundred years after their relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome : " and a glory and a kingdom were given to it before which the ancient empire sank into inferiority.

To these shrines St. Ninian came, with a heart full of devout sentiments ; with gratitude that he should have been brought to this great object of his desire ; that he, a Briton, from almost another world, might approach the very remains of the Apostles ; and with

earnest prayers for the furtherance of his designs. "He shed tears," as the simple narrative proceeds, "before the holy relics of the Apostles, as pledges of his devotion, and with many prayers commended his desire to their patronage."

CHAPTER V.

St. Ninian's Life at Rome.

After having thus performed his devotions at the tombs of the Apostles, St. Ninian sought the Pope, and laid before him the object of his journey. It had long been usual for Christians, in travelling from one part of the Church to another, to take with them commendatory letters from the Bishop of their own Church, which should be an evidence of their being in the Catholic Communion, and a recommendation to the Churches which they might visit. Such we suppose St. Ninian to have brought and to have presented to St. Damasus, who had now for nearly twenty years occupied the holy See, having been elected at sixty years of age, in 366. By this aged saint he was most kindly received, and the object of his leaving his home and seeking the Church of Rome, heartily entered into and approved. St. Damasus, himself, was a man of taste and learning. Some of his sacred poems and official letters have come down to us. He was also a great encourager of learned men, and prompted them to undertake works for the service of religion; one especially, the Translation and Commentaries on the Scriptures by St. Jerome, was the fruit of his

suggestions, for which alone he deserves our gratitude. This saint was probably with him about the time St. Ninian came: he resided at Rome for two years, at the wish of the Pope; and assisted him in these last years of his life in writing those important letters, on many nice and important points of doctrine and ecclesiastical rules, which the See of Rome, consulted and appealed to from every part of Christendom, had continually to send out. And it may throw light on the real character of St. Damasus, who is said to have wrought miracles in life and after death, to consider him as supporting under strong unpopularity the austere and simple mannered Jerome, and selecting him as his confidential adviser; and as entering, with the kindness and interest of a father, (for he embraced him, it is said, as his own son,) into the views of the devout Ninian, who, from a simple desire after the knowledge of Christian Truth, had given up all the world had to offer him. For, outwardly, St. Damasus lived in a splendour which emperors might envy, and had a mind which delighted in great and magnificent works. Whilst Christian Bishops in general lived with simplicity, external humility, and often in poverty, the Bishops of Rome were surrounded by pomp and grandeur. But under this external splendour how often in every age has there been concealed a true poverty of spirit and a self-denying life. St. Jerome, who knew well the character of the Pope, and whose sincerity and severe standard of Christian holiness renders his testimony most valuable, designates him as “of holy memory.”

St. Ninian was received by him with the utmost kindness, with, as has been said, the affection of a father. He laid open the object for which he had come to Rome;

and how highly does it speak for the deeply devout character of the Pope, now nearly eighty years of age, that he should enter into and approve a course which had about it so much which in other matters we should call romantic. How rarely do we find the aged capable of entering into the feelings of the young, in cases especially, where worldly interests are concerned, and the usual course of action is departed from. The mere natural disposition of old men leads them to look on the self-forgetfulness of the young as a kind of folly, which experience and sobriety of spirit will wean them from. Such is the temper to which intercourse with the world, and the downward and hardening tendencies of our evil nature, incline us, even towards what is right, and good, and noble, in the temperament of the young. But not such is the aged Christian. He has learnt by experience the true value of that Pearl of great price, and the worthlessness of the world's best treasures. In him love has been warmed and deepened ; and self-sacrifice become a practical and habitual principle. So that, whilst he has the discriminating eye which sees the true path of duty, and distinguishes between a course suggested by mere emotion or self-will, and that to which the guidance of the Holy Spirit leads the youthful scholar in the saintly life, he yet is not wanting in the fullest sympathy with all that is noble and disinterested in his spirit. The Christian mind is one in all, and produces a mutual sympathy in those in whom it exists. Diversities of race and climate, of station, age, employment, which swallow up the whole character in others, are but an outside clothing to Christians, and fade away before the unity of that in which the moral being really consists.

And age and youth love to dwell together in sympathy and peace.

Ninian was placed by St. Damasus under the care of teachers, who instructed him systematically in the doctrines of the Faith. He was, as Bede expresses it, *regulariter doctus*. We do not, indeed, know what provision was made for the teaching of Christian doctrine to individuals. It would seem as if, as yet, it had not assumed any very systematic shape. From the first, the teachers (Doctors) formed one class of the Christian ministry. They whose gifts, extraordinary or ordinary, qualified them more especially for the office of instructing others in the Faith, would be employed in preparing converts and catechumens for baptism ; and it seems most probable that they would themselves advance in the study of Holy Scripture, and the Christian writers, and in the further training up of others. And this was one use of the Minor Orders of the clergy, in which, according to the rule of the apostle, they served a sort of probation for the diaconate ; and under the eye of the bishop, and the teaching of the Doctors, prepared themselves for the higher offices. At Alexandria the Church taught all learning, human and divine. In other Churches, secular and preparatory knowledge of the arts and sciences, was learnt from the established heathen institutions ; and Christian knowledge from their own Clergy.

Under the care of his present teachers St. Ninian had every reason to rejoice in the step he had taken. "The youth, full of the spirit of God, perceived that he had not run or laboured in vain, as he now understood that from their unskilful teachers, he and his countrymen had believed many things opposed to sound doctrine." He met with that satisfaction which the mind

feels in the consistency of the truths put before it ; and still more the peace resulting from the confidence which such harmony inspires, that it is indeed the truth itself respecting the Supreme Object of his desire, love, and reverence ; and not a shadow which it grasps instead. And the Holy Scriptures, now explained in their true sense, harmonized with the doctrines inculcated.

The advantages he enjoyed, in this respect, were very great. The Roman church was indeed the school of the true faith, and in its atmosphere heretical teaching was at once discovered. The controvercies of the day had caused the truth on the most essential Doctrines to be elicited and defined ; and for the interpretation of Scripture, the learning, and deep and clear understanding of the Sacred writers, possessed by St. Jerome, if not directly engaged in teaching St. Ninian, must yet, without doubt, have had their influence on those to whom St. Damasus committed him for instruction. It was the time, too, when the spiritual understanding of Scripture was being brought out so much by St. Ambrose. And all the teaching he then obtained, whether from the lips of his instructors or the writings of the great teachers of the Church, was eagerly learnt and carefully stored up by St. Ninian for his present comfort, and to be brought out in future years for the instruction of others. In St. Aelred's words. "Applying himself with entire eagerness to the Word of God, he drew from the views of different teachers, as the laden bee from various flowers, the rich honey with which he filled the cells of wisdom, and stored them in the hive of his heart, to be kept there, to be meditated on, and afterwards brought out for the

refreshment and support of his inner man, and the consolation of many others."

It was indeed a worthy recompense, that he, who for the love of the truth had thought lightly of home, country, wealth, and pleasures, should, so to say, be led into the innermost shrine of truth, and admitted to the very treasures of wisdom and knowledge ; should receive for carnal, spiritual ; for earthly, heavenly ; for temporal, eternal goods. He was happy. For he had now found a home ; for what is a home but a place where we meet with abiding sympathy—where we feel we can repose on those who love us, and whom we love. He had left a home which was dear to him ; one which he might well and holily love ; but he had found another, where he had what his own home could not give, the knowledge of his Saviour. He had a new father in the holy Damasus, and guides and directors in his wise teachers, and doubtless many brethren, for not in vain would he pray, "Let such as fear Thee, and have known Thy testimonies, be turned unto me. And Rome was full of objects for a Christian to admire and love.

It so happens that, chiefly from St. Jerome's letters, we know much of the spiritual history of the Roman Church, and of what occurred there about this time, and as St. Ninian must have been influenced by what was going on, and our estimate of what he was must be to a greater degree formed by knowing the characters held in esteem at that day, some longer reference to them may be excused.

For the first two or three years of his stay St. Jerome was residing there, beloved and esteemed by the good for the holiness of his life, his humility, and learning. Intimately associated as he was with St.

Damasus, particularly in his theological studies, it is not unnatural to suppose that the young enquirer after truth had opportunities of drinking in the lessons of wisdom from his lips. For the Saint suffered, it is said, from sore eyes, and so was led to spend more time in oral teaching and conversation. One of his chief employments was to answer the enquiries of those who consulted him on the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and he was ever ready to afford the benefits of his instruction to those who sought it. There can be little doubt that St. Ninian would earnestly desire to hear him, or that opportunities would be given him.

Not long after his arrival another event occurred which must have been most interesting to him, and have made him feel as in the very metropolis of the Church. In the year 382, a council was held in Rome, at which Bishops were assembled, whose names have ever been honoured, and whom St. Ninian through life might remember. St. Ascholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, was here, the intimate friend of St. Athanasius, one who had laboured in the conversion of the Goths, a work like that to which the latter part of St. Ninian's own life was to be devoted. St. Epiphanius, too, the aged Bishop of Salamis, and Paulinus, of Antioch, had come with St. Jerome, and spent the winter of 382-3 in Rome, lodging in the house of the holy widow St. Paula. Epiphanius, now above seventy years of age, had lived through the troubled times of Arianism. He was the scholar and the dear friend of the sainted hermit, Hilarion, and his own life had for many years been spent in religious solitude, whence he had derived a severe and unbending character, and was now highly honoured in the Church. St. Ambrose was here, and lodged in the house of his

sister, St. Marcellina, to whom he was indebted for the blessings of a religious education, and for a bright example of sincere piety. She had thirty years before put on the religious habit, and devoted herself to a life of singular holiness in retirement, silence, and prayer,—the secret cause, it may be, in some degree of that glory which shone forth in her brother.

It was a time when many Roman ladies of high rank and wealth retired from the world, and devoted themselves in their own homes, and with their near relations, to the exercises of religion and works of charity. Each house was a little monastery, where prayer and praise, and fasting and watching, dwelt with love and abundant almsgiving, and works of mercy for the souls and bodies of others—widowed mothers, with their daughters, giving up the enjoyment of wealth and station, and withdrawing to be nearer God. Such was the natural way in which, before the systematic introduction of monastic rules, pious Christians adopted a mode of life which enabled them to serve God without distraction, in prayer and the practice of charity.

Such was St. Marcella, whom St. Jerome calls the glory of the Roman ladies. She had, after losing her husband, early endeavoured to imitate the ascetics of the East, of whom she had heard from St. Athanasius. She refused to marry again, and employed herself in works of devotion and charity. Her example was followed by many noble maidens, who placed themselves under her care, and many religious societies were formed in consequence.

One of the most distinguished of her spiritual children was St. Paula, whom she had comforted on the death of her husband, and induced to forsake the world. St. Paula was descended from one of the

noblest Roman families, and had given up great riches and a high place in society, to seek consolation in God. She had now adopted a life of retirement and poverty in the possession of wealth, enquiring out the poor and relieving them with her own hand. "She could make," she said, "no better provision for her children than by drawing on them by her alms, the blessings of heaven." Her time was chiefly spent in religious reading and prayer. She avoided the distractions of society, seeking only the edifying conversation of religious people. At her house, as was said, St. Epiphanius and Paulinus were lodged, and St. Jerome was her spiritual guide during his stay in Rome. There were many others, some of whom, in the society of their own families, formed religious retreats ; others united together, under the guidance of a holy and experienced matron. It is most interesting to see the way in which these associations sprung up. The spontaneous growth, as it were, of a deep sense of the truths of religion, and of love to God and man. The example of the solitaries of Egypt had but to be set before them, and they whose hearts were prepared followed it. A few were influenced at first, and from them it spread to greater numbers. They were possessed with the desire of leading a heavenly life on earth, and embraced it under such forms as naturally suggested themselves. We call their houses monasteries, but they are so different from what we usually associate with the name that it is apt to mislead us. They were simple and natural associations of religious persons, living in ordinary dwellings, and devoting themselves to a strict life of silence, abstinence, and prayer, to labour and works of love ; and they might rise up spontaneously in any

Church where there was the spirit which at first gave them birth.

The monasteries of Rome, as being religious communities formed in the very heart of the city, are highly commended by St. Augustine. 'The religious lived together, under the care of a virtuous and learned priest, maintaining themselves by their own labour, ordinarily having but one meal each day, and that towards night ; some fasting for longer periods, even for three or more days, but no one being forced to undergo austerities he could not bear.' It was most natural for St. Ninian to join some such body ; for he was separated from his country, without any ties in the world, or any home but what the Church offered, and so to unite himself to a body of like minded brethren, in a society of religious men, living together under some rule, was the obvious course by which to seek for support, sympathy, and improvement. Here he was free from the wretchedness and the sights of evil which a life in the city would bring. He might live in silent study, or laborious occupation, enjoying the blessing of undistracted attention to Divine things, without the chill of solitude, the presence of his brethren assisting him to realize that of those unseen Beings who are ever around us. The examples of holy men, seen in their daily round of employments, their humility, recollection, patience, industry, and self-denial, how great a privilege to one who was endeavouring himself to grow in grace, and to learn to copy what was good and profitable in others. And that he adopted this course, which was what the most religious people of his time would do, is confirmed by the circumstance, that St. Siricius, who chose him to be

a Bishop, particularly favoured the practice of selecting the Clergy from such monastic bodies.

Thus St. Ninian lived for the next fifteen years, fifteen years of what is called the best part of a man's life, gradually advancing in that holiness which was afterwards manifested in his works on earth, and his availing power with heaven; growing in gentleness, self-devotion, and recollection, and meanwhile making progress in the depth and accuracy of his views of Divine truth, and in the understanding of Holy Scripture. It was, according to men's present views, a long time to spend in comparative inactivity, where the missionary life was that for which he was destined. It was, as they say, shutting up in a cloister, power, and energy, and goodness, which might have been more usefully engaged in doing good to others. But very different from the hurried eagerness of men for immediate visible results, is the calm majestic march of the Divine dispensations, and the course of those of His servants in whom they are imitated. He waited four thousand years before He undertook His work. He would have his servants well matured in knowledge and love before they take in hand the offices they are designed for, and is willing that there should be a long and seemingly unprofitable toil in preparing deep and strong foundations for the structure He would raise. One well prepared and sanctified character exercises far more influence for good, than many ordinary ones. Such an one is a true standard of what we should aim to be, and as such attracts the hearts of those who are prepared to receive the truth. He is fit to guide, and by his deep practical wisdom, and weight of character, has a constraining power over even unwilling minds. St. Ninian might have engaged early in

missionary labours, and have been as others are. He waited, growing more and more in holiness ; and he went forth to work miracles, and to convert the nations.

Nor should it surprise us, that so long a time should be spent in the study of Divine truth. Nearly as long a time given exclusively to that highest object of the human mind, was not of old thought too much for preparing one who was to teach others. It is our low standard of theological attainments, which makes a few months seem enough to prepare for expounding the mysteries of the Gospel ; and it is our diversion into matters only accidentally connected with Theology proper, which leads us to conceive the knowledge of the divine unnecessary, if not prejudicial to his practical usefulness in influencing the hearts of men. Criticism and Antiquities, Church History and Evidences, viewed externally, and by themselves, are thought, and rightly so, to be of little use to one who has the care of souls. But such is not the case with Theology, properly so called, that is the knowledge of what we are to believe, and what we are to do ; the more exact knowledge of Him, Whom truly to know is everlasting life ; the true vision of Whom keeps the soul and its affections in their right position, whilst errors and false views distort and deprave them ; this is real Theology. It is Dogmatic Theology which contemplates, defines, and gives exactness to our views of that truth by which we are sanctified ; Controversial Theology, which enables us to guard the truth from corruption, and to watch against the first inroads of error. Surely, to a holy mind such contemplations are alike the highest employment of the understanding, and tend most to his own sanctification, and his power of teaching others.

St. Thomas, the most profound of schoolmen, was the most devout of Saints, and the most powerful preacher. His prayers are among the choicest treasures of the Church. His sermons awakened and converted the most ignorant and hardened sinners.

And as regards Moral Theology, with its handmaids, Casuistical and Ascetic, contemplating what we ought to be, and to do, in principle and detail, and how we may attain to a saintly temper ; what time and thought can be too much for attaining to exactness of knowledge here, by one who is really to be a guide to others ? How many nice points are to be determined ! How many difficult questions in the treatment of the souls of men in their varied spiritual conditions ! What grave consideration of duties and principles ! It betokens indeed that men have fallen into a low religious condition, when they cannot even estimate the value of deep and long continued study on such subjects. If it be kept in mind that Theology, rightly so called, is the knowledge of God, and how we may please Him, it will be evident, that as the one great requisite for the study of it is a holy life, so it is the first business of the Clergy to attain proficiency in it, and that no extent of real attainment can be too much—they ought to draw all their care and study this way. This will be the guide of their course of study, and will arrange in due subordination the various other branches of knowledge, and enable them to derive from each what it can minister to their highest end. It will secure the knowledge of those truths which are essential, will determine the extent and the end for which we should pursue the rest. No subject of human knowledge will then be without its use and due position.

Of the course of study St. Ninian would go through,

we may form probably a very fair notion from a Treatise of St. Augustine, written not long after, designed to direct the studies of those who were to be teachers of others.

The main object to which he directed the student was the right understanding and explanation of the Holy Scriptures. This seems to be viewed as the chief business of the Christian teacher, and it is to this end that all other studies are made subordinate. But first, he was to know those principles to which all interpretations must be conformed—the principles of Christian Faith, Hope, and Charity. Of Faith, in the full knowledge and understanding of the Creed ; of Hope, and of the sum of evangelical morality in the love of God above all things, and of our brethren in Him, and for His sake ; and any interpretation which is inconsistent with these principles, whether as sanctioning immorality, or erroneous doctrine, must be wrong. Next, presupposing that the student has, by personal religion, entered on the steps of wisdom, beginning with the fear of the Lord, he is to learn the rules and principles of literal and spiritual interpretation, the latter being the chief study of the expositor. In connexion with this, he is to acquire a knowledge of Scripture criticism, of the right text, and translation ; of history, natural science, logic, and all other subjects which may be useful to him as subsidiary learning. Lastly, he is to study how to express to others what he himself has learnt, by acquiring the art of Christian eloquence. The first and second of these subjects we may conceive would form the principal part of St. Ninian's studies, the doctrines of the faith and Christian love, and the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, for both of which he would find so

great assistance in the works of contemporary writers, or of those who had gone before ; as well as by the oral teaching of the doctors, of the Roman Church.

So much of apology, if it be needed, for St. Ninian's living for fifteen years, in what the world would call a comparatively narrow sphere at Rome, but really, in a life of labour, thought, and constant endeavour after improvement.

Every thing here combined for his advancement in fitness for his great destiny. Rome was the centre of the Christian world. Errors and disputes were heard of, examined, and determined there ; each improvement in the rules of holy living, each practical advancement in Church discipline and conduct, was brought into this great resort and emporium of the Christian world, while the steady orthodoxy of the Church enabled it to look with discrimination on the opinions and practices which rose up around it.

The details of St. Ninian's life here are quite unknown, but general history relates many events, which must have exercised an important influence upon him.

Within three or four years after his arrival, St. Ninian sustained a heavy loss in the death of his kind patron, St. Damasus, who died the tenth of December, in the year 384 ; being then nearly eighty years of age. He was succeeded by St. Siricius, who, twelve years after, was to consecrate and send out St. Ninian. For some time he was unacquainted with him, as was natural in so large a Church, and when St. Ninian did not occupy a prominent place. St. Ninian, therefore, deprived of the friendship and countenance of St. Damasus, was left to go on in the ordinary course.

About this time he was, most probably, admitted to the minor orders as a Reader. For we have the

rules which St. Siricius sent to the Church of Spain, immediately on his election, February, 385, in which he determines the regular gradation of offices. One who from infancy was devoted to the service of the Church, was to be baptized before he was fourteen, and placed in the rank of Readers. If his life was approved till he was thirty, he was made an Acolyte and Sub-deacon, and if judged worthy, a Deacon, after having previously made a promise of continence. Then, after five years' service, he might be admitted to the Priesthood, and, after ten more, to the Episcopate. Such was the long probation and service for the sacred ministry in those days. And though, very probably, in St. Ninian's case, as in others, peculiar circumstances might be a ground for departing from it in some points, we may suppose it observed on the whole : and that he went through the regular course of clerical offices in Rome.

Meanwhile important events were occurring around him ; events in which the whole Church has since been interested. The conversion of St. Augustine and his baptism at Milan, occurred at Easter, 387 ; and the latter part of that year, after the death of his mother, and whole of the following one, he spent at Rome. It is not unnatural to suppose that he and St. Ninian might meet ; the more humble talents of the Briton, being in the eyes of St. Augustine far more than compensated by that spotless purity of heart which enjoyed the blessedness of seeing God. The one baptized in infancy had by habitual obedience, kept his robes unstained. The other, washed from a load of actual sins, was now at the eleventh hour labouring more than any, and by his zeal and earnestness making way beyond them.

About this time, too, the Emperor Theodosius visited Italy, and great exertions were in vain used to prevail on him to favour the depressed cause of paganism ; it was his resolution which led to the entire fall of the ancient superstition. His visit to Rome in 389, gave the last blow to idolatry. He entered the city with Valentinian, and then it was that the most distinguished families embraced Christianity, the Anicii, Probi, Pauli, Gracchi. The people ran in crowds to the Vatican, to venerate the tombs of the Apostles, or to the Lateran to be baptized ; but few adhered to the ancient superstitions. The temples were filled with cobwebs and soon fell to ruin ; and the idols were left alone under their roofs with the owls and the bats.

The time was now approaching when he was to be called to that work for which the providence of God had long been training him. Year after year had passed, and, to himself, it might seem as if he was doing but little service, and was an unprofitable servant : but a preparation was going on in the practice of humble obedience, and in His own good time God called on him to take his great work in hand. The duties of the offices he had been placed in, afforded an opportunity for his good qualities to be seen and generally recognized. Purity, wisdom, and circumspectness, are the points specially mentioned ; and those of them which may be considered as intellectual gifts, are just of the kind which would be formed and developed by religious principles ; the absence of hurry and excitement, calm considerateness, a fair estimate of others, are the natural fruits of that confidence in God which trusts that all will be controlled for good, which sets their true value on the things of the world and the

events of time, and so is without anxiety ; of charity, which despises no one, but sympathizes with their difficulties, puts itself in the place of others, and enters into their views ; and of honesty and simplicity of aim, which has no bye ends to entangle, or duplicity to involve it. It is from these qualities that wisdom in counsel springs. And to be gradually entrusted with offices of responsibility, in subordination to higher authority ; the learning practically to rule and to be ruled, in the successive steps of the lower clerical offices, was the very means to form the mind of the future saint to this prudence in judging and circumspection in acting. And his excellencies by degrees became generally matter of remark, and brought him under the notice and, ultimately, into esteem and familiar association with St. Siricius.

“While he was spoken of by all as chaste in body, wise in understanding, provident in counsel, circumspect in every word and deed, he rose to the favour and friendship of the Pope himself.”

The advantages to be derived from this position were, we need not say, very great, in fitting him for the work in which he was to engage ; and the knowledge of it gives us peculiar means of ascertaining the views which St. Ninian entertained on many important subjects, and which he brought into our own country. For we know those of St. Siricius, and considering that after this intimate acquaintance with him the Pope fixed on him as the fittest person to correct the errors which prevailed among the British Christians, we cannot doubt that Ninian's views coincided with his own ; the more so as his professed intention was to teach in Britain the doctrines of the Roman Church.

The decretals of St. Siricius sent to the Church of Spain in 385, have already been referred to ; they recognize, it need scarcely be said, a monastic system, as an established custom, approved and encouraged by the Church. A strict penitential discipline and the celibacy of the Clergy are presupposed as right, regulated and enforced. A formal expression of the same views was elicited by the heresy of Jovinian, who, amongst other errors, maintained "that virgins have no more merit than widows or married women, and, that there is no difference between abstaining from meats, and using them with thanksgiving." With these easy doctrines it is no wonder he had many followers at Rome ; persons who had long lived in continence and mortification, married and returned to a soft and unrestrained life. It did not, however, number any Bishop among those who embraced it, and in the year 390 an assembly of the Roman Clergy was held, and the doctrines declared to be contrary to the Christian truth ; and by the unanimous advice of the Priests and Deacons who were present, and we can scarcely doubt St. Ninian was among them, Jovinian and his followers were excommunicated.

CHAPTER VI.

St. Ninian's return to Britain.

AND now we may pass to the time when the Saint was called to the high duties of a Bishop and a Missionary. The activity and vigilance of St. Siricius prompted him to act upon those feelings of sympathizing interest which give to every Church which is a healthy member of the great Catholic body, a deep concern is the welfare of every other part. If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. Still more should he feel it who occupied the chief See of Christendom ; on whom, in an especial manner, it seemed incumbent to watch and provide for all, to support the weak, to correct the erring, and to convert the unbelieving ; and Siricius seems particularly to have felt this interest in our remote and despised country. It was compassion for half taught and misguided Christians, for heathens and barbarians, for whom the Son of God had shed His precious blood—for immortal beings, who, unrescued, might perish for ever, but by the power of the Gospel, would be exalted to everlasting bliss, and swell the ranks of the Angelic choirs. It was compassion, such as two centuries afterwards moved his successor, the saintly Gregory, to yearn over the wretchedness of our Saxon ancestors. These feelings in their case would go beyond the ordinary compassion which Christians generally would have ; they would feel with the blessed Apostle that they had the care of all the Churches, and that the weak and the scandalized were the special objects of their sympathy.

And in the case of St. Siricius there was happily one at hand peculiarly suited for the work before him. St. Ninian had waited long for this call to the office for which Divine Providence had all along designed, and been preparing him. Perhaps he would have no thought of undertaking so great a work, or if ever a desire had crossed his mind to impart to his countrymen the unspeakable blessings he had himself obtained, it might be repressed as not to be thought of, till some guiding of Providence, or obedience to authority should determine it to be his duty, and sanction his undertaking it. For it is not to be imagined that Ninian had forgotten Britain. How should he? Means of communication were regular and speedy; events of moment were frequently occurring; his countrymen, who, as we have heard, made religious visits to the Holy Land, would often draw to the city, to offer their devotions at the tombs of the Apostles; others would resort among the provincials for the advantages of the schools; others again, like himself, for religious improvement. Of one such we know, St. Piran, the Cornish Saint, whose Church in the Sand was recently brought to light. He was a native of Ireland, and born about 352. When about thirty years of age, and so nearly at the same time as St. Ninian, having received some imperfect information about the Christian Faith, he travelled to Rome for more complete instruction. He is supposed by the Irish writers to have been consecrated at Rome, and returned home, accompanied by four Clerics, who were all afterwards Bishops. With them St. Ninian would hold converse, and hear the language, which, harsh as it may seem to us, would sound sweet in his ears, as the language of his home. By these means his information and in-

terest in Britain would be kept alive. And when the holy Father, whose authority and wish would be a command, called him to this work, we may imagine that with his deep humility, and shrinking from an office, to which he would seem quite unequal, there would be some warm feeling kindled, in the hope that he might be a blessing to those he loved so well.

In St. Aelred's words, "The Roman Pontiff had heard that there were in the western part of Britain some who had not yet embraced the faith of our Saviour,¹ some also who had heard the word of the Gospel, but from heretical or ignorant teachers ; and by the impulse of the Divine Spirit, he, with his own hands consecrated this man of God to the office of a Bishop, and sent him with the Apostolic Benediction to this people."

This event most probably occurred in the spring of the year 397. The date is determined by a circumstance which is on other accounts interesting, and intimately connected with the history and future character of St. Ninian. It is, that on his way to Britain,

¹ It is most probable that attention was drawn to the condition of the British of this district, by the publication of St. Jerome's work against Jovinian, which occurred in the year 393 or 394. It was written at the request of some Christians at Rome, and excited great interest there. In the second book he mentions, that he had himself, when a youth in Gaul, seen some of the Attacotti, a British tribe, who ate human flesh ; and adds still more revolting details as to the habits of their people. This tribe occupied the country between Loch Lomond and Loch Fine. Such a statement could not fail to excite enquiry, and lead the Pope to ascertain the real state of the unconverted people, who, being of the same race, were within the limits of the empire. The mission of St. Ninian was the natural result.

he visited St. Martin of Tours, whose name had recently been made known through the whole Church, by Sulpicius's life of him. Now St. Martin, according to the best authorities, died in November, 397. The life in question was a narrative, written by Sulpicius, for his friend St. Paulinus of Nola, without any view to its becoming public. It was however communicated by Paulinus to others, and so spread with unprecedented rapidity. This occurred within a year before the death of the Saint, for it was after the death of St. Clare in the previous November. And the sensation it produced in Rome, and throughout the Christian world, was incredible. The booksellers having at command only the slow process of the human hand, could not have it copied so fast as to meet the demand, and could sell it at almost any price ; it was considered the most gainful work they had ever had. No book was so much read, or so eagerly sought after ; it was in every one's hands, and every where the subject of conversation. For it related of a living Bishop so near them as in France, sanctity almost unequalled ; and miraculous powers, such as were not then possessed by any one ; and these recorded in graceful language, with the Latinity of the purest ages, and the unaffected simplicity of a friend writing to a friend of what he had himself seen and known ; and with the deep and affectionate reverence of a disciple, for one who had guided him by example and instruction into the ways of holiness and peace.

From this work, St. Ninian, as St. Aelred relates, ardently desired to see and converse with the holy man whose ways were depicted there, and accordingly, on his way to Britain, diverged to Tours to visit its Bishop.

We too have the beautiful picture which Sulpicius has drawn, and for St. Ninian's sake, that we may know the sort of person whom he looked on as a model ; and for our own, that we may in this way see the Saint ourselves, we will go along with him to the Hermit Bishop, whom our northern Churches venerate so highly.

St. Martin had long lived as a recluse, and when the people of Tours would have him, in spite of his poor clothes and mean appearance, to be their Bishop, he kept up his holy solitude as much as he could, in a cell adjoining his Church. This however proved more liable to interruption than he wished, so he went into a lonely spot a mile or two from the town, where a sweep of the river left a level grassy plain, which was shut out from the country on its landward side by a line of precipitous rocks, and accessible only by difficult paths. Here he fixed his abode, and to him gathered others who desired to be under his guidance, and forsaking the world, to imitate his humble and mortified life. They were about sixty in number ; some lived in cells built by themselves, many in caves in the rocks ; and that in solitude, except when they met for prayers, or at their meals, and labouring, many by copying books, for their own support. Above all, the Saint himself drew the hearts of holy men to him by his humility, meekness, and deep knowledge of religious truth. He was quite an illiterate man, yet readily solved the difficulties of Scripture. But his real life was hid with Christ, and he was in continual communion with Him, unceasingly praying, either by direct supplication, or the inward lifting up of his soul to God. His humility was remarkable ; he judged no one, he condemned no one ; he was never irritated, never depressed by sorrow, or excited by mirth,

but ever bearing in his looks a kind of heavenly joyfulness. Christ only was on his lips, and in his heart compassion, piety, and peace. Besides all this, there was an awfulness thrown around him by the visible tokens of the Divine presence, in the miracles he had wrought ; miracles which have a degree of evidence rarely to be met with.

To visit this saint, then, so marked by traits of personal holiness, and the awful manifestations of Divine authority accompanying his deeds ; was the object of St. Ninian on his way to Britain. "He diverged to Tours, says St. Aelred, filled with the Holy Ghost, and touched by an eager desire of seeing him."

Meanwhile St. Martin, had been prepared for his coming. "By the grace of prophetic illumination, the virtues of the new Bishop were not unknown to him. He was taught that he was sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and would be the instrument of the salvation of many ; and, in consequence, with what joy, devotion, and affection, did he receive him." Their time was spent in holy converse and aspirations of divine love ; Ninian, doubtless, being eager to learn from so great a saint, and profiting by his readiness to solve the difficulties of Scripture, and to speak of Christ, and the rules of holy living. He also gained another advantage. His wish was to introduce religion into his country in its completeness, to present it before his people, not only in the statement of doctrines and rules of practice, but as visibly embodied in the Church, and manifested in her sacred services ; it was his intention to imitate, "as the faith, so the customs of the Roman Church in building Churches and arranging the services ;" and he requested St. Martin to furnish him with masons for the work. "In the tabernacle of the Lord

two columns are joined together, and two cherubim stretching out their wings touch each other ; now borne up on the wings of virtue they withdraw to be with God ; now standing and letting them fall they condescend to their neighbours. So these saints returned from heavenly objects to the things of this world." At last they parted. "They had feasted on their mutual conversations as on heavenly banquets, and separated with embraces, kisses, and tears shed in common. St. Martin remained in his See. Ninian hastened to the work for which he had been sent forth by the Holy Ghost."

Such is the sympathy of holy men ; such their love, seeming not to need the usual preparations of human friendship ; but as they each have advanced towards the one model, the image of Christ, enabling them to understand each other at once.

On his way through France and Belgium, as Camerarius reports, St. Ninian was anxious to labour for the conversion of the people, and great numbers were the fruit of his preaching. The authority however is very recent, and though he may be regarded, like other later writers, as preserving and perpetuating a tradition of a much earlier date, the evidence is so slight, that we must leave the matter simply to recommend itself by its internal probability.

And now, after an absence of many years, St. Ninian is again in sight of the shores of Britain, and gazes on its white cliffs as he nears his native land. But greatly is he changed. He had gone forth, young, uninformed, seeking to be taught the truth. He returns in mature age, with solid judgment, deep knowledge, confirmed faith, commissioned to instruct others, and to impart to them those true views of doctrine, and those

many lessons of holy living which he had been storing up. But with how great a responsibility did he come, and with how little earthly help. In Rome he had been surrounded by those who sympathized with him, and were engaged in the sacred pursuits he had been devoted to ; counsel, consolation, and aid were ever at hand. Now was he to stand alone, with a half barbarous people around him, whom he had to labour to convert, or to correct, scarcely knowing how they would receive him, or how he should find access to their minds.

On the part of his countrymen however the greatest interest was felt in him. We know how strongly the inhabitants of remote districts are interested in those who have left the seclusion in which they live, to make their way in the world. There is among such people a strong feeling of community, which makes each one a relation as it were to all the rest ; and if one goes out from his native village to make his way in a larger sphere, deep interest is felt in his success, and a desire to hear of him. The old remember him as a child, and his father and father's father. The young were the companions of his boyish days. If he becomes distinguished and honoured, all seem to have a share in it. And Ninian had been a youth whose goodness and engaging manners would especially gain their affections. He was a Briton, the son too of one of their own princes, to whom it was natural they should cling with peculiar attachment as associated with the remembrance of what their tribes had been ; for amid the improvements of Roman civilization, many ardent spirits would look back on the wild glories of their uncivilized days, and cherish the recollection of the renown and independence of their race. We may imagine

the interest with which they would hear of the esteem in which their young countryman was held, the position which he occupied even in the chief city of the world ; and the joy with which they would receive the news, that he was to be restored to them as their Bishop. He was the son of their king, but he had humbled himself by relinquishing secular dignity, and now was exalted by a far higher spiritual office. The children of this world, the more they valued its gifts of wealth and power, the more they would conceive that he had made a sacrifice ; and they who had the opportunity of seeing any thing of the peace and joy he had in Christ, would see that he had not been wrong in making it. Here was a living instance of giving up the world for Christ. What it was to be a Prince they saw, and they would think much of it. The Bishop might have had these goods of wealth and honour, but he preferred to be a servant of Christ, and of the people of Christ, to struggle with poverty, to submit to hardships, to overcome ill-will, unkindness, and obstinacy, by meek endurance. The sacrifice they could appreciate ; and when they heard him speak of leaving all to follow Christ, and of taking up the cross, his words would come home to them, for what he said was real ; it had an interpretation in his own doings.

This will in a measure account for the great success which attended the first opening of his work amongst them. It is described as an outbreak of enthusiasm, which ran through the people, and enabled him at once to do the work of years.

If he preached at all as did the great models of his day, we cannot wonder at it. They preached as men who realized what is unseen, for the great truths of eternity were the groundwork of all they said ; and they

came forth from deep and earnest meditation on these truths, to speak of them to others, with earnestness and affection, their own minds being filled with the ideas and affections which corresponded to them. As one who had really seen some land of bliss, or awful suffering, or impending danger, they spoke of them in a natural and real way, and by their very sincerity, and the vivid impression of their own conviction of all they said, they carried others along with them. They could trust to the spontaneous flow of their minds, for they had been schooled by severe lives and serious thought, to deep awe and reverence, and been trained in the full and exact knowledge of Christian truth ; and as Bishops almost exclusively were preachers, they had long time for thought, experience, and sobriety, before they undertook so high an office. They could speak freely, for they spoke of what they really knew by personal experience, and long acquaintance with the ways of holy living ; and this without erroneous and vague statements, or the risk of irreverence, familiarity, or excitement.

It was the age of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine ; and Ninian came into Britain, as it were, from their school, with all the fulness of view and varied thoughts which an acquaintance with Christians and Christian Theology, in its highest form, would give. And this was expressed to the Britons in their own language ; that language which, unlike most of the other subjects of the empire, they still retained and cherished, and which would be more likely to be preserved and usually spoken in remote and mountainous districts, as Cumbria and Galloway. And we know how it gladdens the hearts of the Celts of these days, in Wales and Ireland, to hear their own language, and

how they think no harm can come in it ; and can imagine what the Britons would feel at hearing it from St. Ninian.

It may be they were of the same imaginative and susceptible temper which we find in those remains of their race, for the effect of the Saint's preaching was immediate and very great. "Crowds of people collected together and came to meet him ; there was unbounded delight among them all, and wonderful devotion. Every where did the praises of Christ resound, for they all held him as a prophet. At once, the active labourer, entering his master's field, began to pull up what was ill-planted ; what was ill brought together, to disperse ; to pull down what was built amiss." This was his first beginning. "Afterwards, having cleared the minds of the faithful from all their errors, he began to lay in them the foundation of the holy faith ; to build the gold of wisdom, the silver of knowledge, and the stones of good works. These all he taught by word, exhibited by example, and confirmed by numerous miracles."

CHAPTER VII.

St. Ninian in Galloway.

THE province which was assigned to St. Ninian seems to have been the western portion of our northern counties, and the Scottish Lowlands, south of the Wall of Antoninus. In the direction of the heathen, it was, of course, unlimited ; the field was open for him to convert all he could. In Scotland there were, pro-

bably, very few Christians ; in the English portion they were but partially converted and very ignorant. What arrangement was made between the new Bishop and the Bishop of York, or of any unknown See, in whose diocese this country was lying before, we cannot tell. The British Bishops might gladly receive amongst them a missionary Bishop, as they afterwards did St. Germanus, to assist in eradicating evil and promoting the good of their people ; or there may have been some definite district assigned to him ; and of this it may be that a trace remained in the limits of St. Kentigern's diocese of Glasgow, which seems to have taken the place of St. Ninian's, and extended to the Cross on Stainmoor.

This district was occupied by different tribes of Britons, having the same language and character, except that those in England were more influenced by Roman civilization. Those to the north consisted of five tribes, whose country had been formed into a new province, by Theodosius, A. D. 367, under the name of Valentia. They lay between the two walls, and were in an intermediate state of civilization, between the inhabitants of the ancient provinces, who had for centuries been under Roman influence, and the wild unsubdued inhabitants of the Highlands. Their country was but partially occupied by the Romans, who used it chiefly for military occupation and defence against the Caledonians ; and though the inhabitants were Roman citizens, those who lived in the more remote portions of the district probably differed little from the barbarous state in which Cæsar had found our whole island.

It was among the English portion of his people that St. Ninian first laboured. His history implies that, as was natural, he first went among his own people and

the friends of his early years, to impart to them the inestimable benefits he was commissioned to diffuse ; and in accordance with this, Leland distinctly speaks of his first mission as being to the coast of Cumberland, between St. Bees Head and Carlisle.

The circumstances of the country were not, however, such as were in any way suited for his long continuance or permanent establishment there. Cumberland lying just within the southern wall and being filled by military establishments,¹ was now the scene of warlike preparation, and the fearful anticipations, and miserable realities of a bloody and exterminating warfare. It was a time of bitter distress to the Provincial Britons ; and sad, indeed, was the sight presented to St. Ninian. The peace and tranquillity he had left in his native land was at an end. It was just the time at which the wild hordes of Picts, who had been restrained whilst the vigorous hand of Theodosius held the reins of empire, were again, a year or two after his death, coming like a flood over the fair fields and rich and civilized abodes of the Provincials. In the following year, 398, it was necessary to send two additional legions into Britain to save the province from utter ruin ; and it was now but thirteen years before it was finally abandoned by the Romans.

St. Gildas has depicted in strong colours the savage invaders, and the wretchedness of the helpless Provincials. It needs, however, no exaggeration to represent the greatness of their sufferings. They had long been shielded by the power of the empire. Four legions evidence alike the danger from the barba-

¹ There were stations at Moresby, Ellenborough, Burgh by the Sands, besides Carlisle and Penrith, and those at Stanwix, Bowness, and along the line of the wall.

rians and the security of the inhabitants. They had, from the first, been taught to forget their warlike habits in the luxuries of ease, and to delight in a slavery which presented itself in the form of comfort and refinement. The works of long continued peace—the improvements of civilization—the beauty of their cities—their costly and elegant houses, now fell before the destroyers, whose cupidity they had excited. Hardy and warlike Piets poured from the fastnesses of the Highlands ; poor, uncivilized, unclothed, what the Britons themselves had been 300 years before. Their ill-will was increased by the very circumstance that their countrymen had identified themselves with the invaders, whose yoke they had themselves with difficulty avoided. Rapine, bloodshed, and cruelty followed in their course, and the Provincials, unable to cope with them, were driven from their peaceful homes, and witnessed the destruction of their cherished possessions, and the death of their dearest friends. Such were the miseries which met St. Ninian on returning to the home of his childhood, and led to his retiring to a more peaceful district to establish his Church. It is not improbable that he was accompanied by some of his family, who might seek a refuge on the retired shore of Galloway, from the rapine and harassing inroads to which their old homes were exposed. We find, at least, that his brother was his companion in after years, and, as one ancient Life reports, his mother and relations were settled near him. His father may have died before he saw, on earth, the face of his son, or witnessed the blessings which he brought to his countrymen. He was removed from the joy of seeing the fruits of Ninian's preaching ; from the distress of beholding the calamities of his country.

The plan which St. Ninian proposed to adopt for carrying on the work of a missionary Bishop, required a place where he might erect a Church, where he might himself permanently live, and form a religious society. For this it was most important to select a position which would be retired, and secure alike from the interruptions of a rude soldiery or the outrage of barbarian tribes. And the place which he chose was singularly adapted for his purpose.

The country between the walls was the very ground on which the battles of the contending armies would continually be fought ; like the suburbs of a besieged town, which neither party spared, but made the arena of their mutual combats. To the south-west, however, the extensive promontory of Galloway stretched beyond the scene of war, and being guarded by the sea on either side, had on the whole remained almost undisturbed by the changes which had gone on around it. It was removed from the ordinary course of the invading Highlanders, and had not itself any objects to attract their rapacity. It had scarcely been affected even by the Roman power. Agricola, in the year 83, had contemplated an expedition to Ireland, and with this view, had overrun the country ; roads had been made, and encampments formed, but, afterwards, as he seems not to have had any object in pursuing the natives into their fastnesses, its remote situation made it little frequented by the Romans. It appears to have continued without giving much occasion for military establishments, for few Roman remains are found in it.

What is now a bare and uninteresting district, where the slow progress of plantations endeavours to compensate for the want of natural wood, was then covered by thick forests, and occupied by Britons,

living in all their uncivilized simplicity. The tribe was called the Novantes ; and Ptolemy mentions their two towns as Rerigonium and Leucopibia. The latter was the one which St. Ninian fixed on as the site for his Church. It was conforming, so far as he could, to the ancient rule, to fix the seat of a Bishop in a city, that the shepherd may be where his flock principally are found ; and in this place the greatest number of Christians would be gathered. Of its identity with Whithern there can be no doubt, and the very probable and generally received conjecture is, that the Leucopibia of our present copies of Ptolemy should be Leucoikidia—Whitehouses ; so identifying its three names, Leucoikidia, Candida Casa, and Whithern, which is derived from the Saxon ærn, house. Baxter suggests that it is so called from the practice of the Celts (he says Picts, but there were no Picts in Galloway till long after this time) to white-wash their houses. It seems most probable that the name was prior to St. Ninian's arrival, and not derived, as commonly said, from the Church he built ; for whatever be made of the latter part of the word, Leuco speaks for itself, and Casa like ærn, seems rather to indicate an ordinary dwelling than a Church. There had been a castra stativa close adjoining the town which is the only Roman position traceable in Galloway ; and a road which Agricola had formed along the coast, had been continued to Leucopibia. But in their present pressing circumstances, the encampment doubtless would be abandoned. The town itself lies but two or three miles from the extremity of the promontory, which branches off from the main one of Galloway, and running far into the sea, forms almost the most southern point of Scotland. It is thus

without access by land except on the north ; and being naturally difficult of access, and out of the direct line towards Ireland, is now one of the most retired places in Scotland. Few had any inducement to visit it from the north ; and its southern and western sides are guarded by lofty and precipitous rocks, and only here and there afford access for vessels.

Here, then, St. Ninian might securely fix his See, removed from the troubles and dangers which occupied the rest of Britain ; and hence go forth to traverse the wild woodlands for the purpose of evangelizing the people. At the same time, the town was probably, as we may judge from the encampment and the road, one of the most important which the natives had. While, the promontory, called Burrow Head, which rises near it, is seen from and commands a view of the extensive diocese in which his lot was cast.

One looks with interest at the position of the Minsters of York or Lincoln, which are conspicuous through the whole surrounding districts—ever present remembrances of Divine Truth, and marks of him who sits there the spiritual father of the flock. Such was the position of St. Ninian's See. As you stand on the fine headland, with sea on every side, you almost look down on the mountains of the Isle of Man, which rise out of the sea, before you. To the right stretch the successive promontories of Galloway almost to Port Patrick ; the hills of Wigtonshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Dumfriesshire, rise in successive and lofty ridges, from the shores of the Solway, to the north ; while, due east, you may trace the coast of Cumberland, to St. Bees Head, or even to Blackcomb, backed by its fair blue hills, so picturesque in outline ; and as the light and shade alternate on the view, you may make

out each bay and headland, and even the white houses by the shore. Surely this was a place where the Saint might stand and survey the field in which he had to work. He had given evidence enough that he was no idle dreamer or slave of weak affection. Still we may well suppose that when he looked down from this central point, and had before him headlands and mountain tops which marked out the wide district committed to him, he would regard with especial tenderness, the distinctly marked shore where he had been baptized and spent his youthful years ;—those hills which he had looked up to from his home. They would recall the remembrance of those who were gone, and awake more fervent prayers for his country, now in the scene of distraction and warfare.

We have said that the manners of the people had been but little affected by the influence of the Romans. It is probable that their way of life was very much what that of the Britons had been before they were refined by Roman colonization, or as those of their neighbours the Mœatœ, who at the beginning of the third century inhabited barren mountains and marshy plains, had no manured or cultivated lands, but fed on the milk and flesh of their flocks, or what they got by hunting, or some wild fruits ; fish they never ate, though they had great plenty of them, and when in the woods they fed on roots and herbs.

There still remain in Galloway, circles, and Cromlechs, and Cistvaens, traces of what St. Ninian might see lingering as a broken, but still living system. The Druid religion was proscribed by the Romans. It was a strong, too strong a bond to be allowed to remain among the Britons ; but the superstition was still deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and a reve-

rence long after hung around the enclosures which had been consecrated by Druid rites. At present therefore they must have been in a wretched religious condition ; the public exercise and ministers of their own religion, were proscribed, and the truth had made little progress amongst them. There were indeed Christians, but in an ignorant and ill-informed state ; and to revive religion amongst these persons, and to correct their errors, was one great part of his work.

St. Ninian's plan was not merely to disperse Clergy in separate districts through the country, but to concentrate his strength in one point, and there to have a Church in some degree worthy of the design for which it was intended. The Churches of the Britons were generally of wood. In the cities no doubt, when the Romans had introduced their arts, and wealth abounded, the Churches, like the other public buildings, would be of stone ; but in remote and poorer places where wood was plentiful, it was more natural to make them of that material. It was ready to their hands ; stone they did not need, and could not afford, and might not have the art of working ; as St. Ninian had contemplated in taking his masons from Tours. Bede speaks of the Church as built of stone in a way unusual among the Britons. His words probably apply to the form as well as the material of the building, as he afterwards contrasts the Churches of the Picts with the Roman fashion. These Pictish Churches, and those of the Britons of Bede's days, and of the Irish, were of wood ; such they now are in Norway, where neither skill nor labour are spared in the beauty of the workmanship with which they are adorned.

St. Ninian however desired to use materials for his Church, which, by their strength and permanence,

might image forth the perpetuity of that Kingdom to which it belonged ; and in which the services might be performed with becoming dignity. He had Rome in his mind ; and as he had there doubtless planned what he would raise on the wooded shores of Britain, he might often now in thought return to the majesty and splendour of the Ritual and Churches of the Apostolic See ; so that whatever simplicity and poverty there might of necessity be elsewhere, the Cathedral at least would afford a model of what was aimed at, and which might be copied in their measure by the other Churches. Such doubtless was the practice, that the Mother Church of the diocese should be the place in which the due order of Divine Service might be kept as a guide to the rest.

Natural piety would move St. Ninian to this work, as indeed it had all along been near his heart. But it must also have been very important in its effects on the people, as a perpetual witness to the truths he taught. That we should give of our best to God, and that what is spent on places specially dedicated to His service is in some more immediate way given to Him, is a natural sentiment. This sentiment is implanted in the human heart, in common with those others which seem to have produced every where, among people who had any sense of religion, an external form and expression of it. Places appropriated for sacred services, where God was believed to be especially present ; an order of men set apart to serve Him, offerings of our best and costliest possessions, and grace and beauty in the ornaments of His House, and the conduct of its services,—these are the spontaneous dictates of the heart, and carry with them the evidence of their being a part of natural religion, as well as what we

commonly call such. Surely it is with this view that we should look on the fair forms of ancient art, their temples, their graceful processions, their choric poetry, as the offering of natural piety to the Supreme Being. Corrupted and polluted it is true they were, but so were the fundamental doctrines of essential religion ; and as we are used there to sever the overlaying errors from the elementary truths, and think it no prejudice to the Divine original of the true portions, that corruption should have attached to them, so let us regard the ceremonies of the heathen, and the taste and wealth they lavished on them, as the yearnings of the human soul after Him, to Whom it desires to do all homage.

And the consideration was very important in reference to the conversion of the heathen, as well as to the maintenance of religion among Christians ; for instead of falling in with their true and right notions as to what a religious system ought to be, we may by a neglect of external Religion directly clash with what they conceive we ought to do, which they will the more deeply believe, the more they are prepared by natural piety for embracing the Gospel. Instead of Churches, by their very forms and ornaments, and services, being silent and ever present preachers of the truth, embodying practical devotion, as being its fruits, they may give the lie to our professions, and hinder the reception of religion. We have power, we have generally wealth. Ninian had not much of either, yet he made no delay, but made it his first work to build the house of God on a scale which excited the admiration of the people, and suited the high purposes for which it was set apart.

It was during the time the Church was building, that

is, in November 397, that St. Ninian was divinely warned of the death of St. Martin, and so deep was the veneration he entertained for that holy man, that he dedicated the Church under his name ; a name it afterwards retained, though when the Saint by whom it was built, and whose remains were laid there became more known, it was commonly called St. Ninian's, and is spoken of as dedicated to him.

In Rome they built the Churches over the tombs of the Martyrs, and so dedicated them to their memory, and in other places it was usual to deposit some of the remains of a martyr under the altar of the Church, which was to be consecrated, a practice observed by the great Saints of the age. At Whithern however there was no martyr, and St. Ninian had not brought any relics, so it seemed as it were providential that St. Martin, one of the greatest Saints of the age, though not a martyr, should yet be honoured thus, and he to whom St. Ninian owed so much be regarded as the patron of his Church, and the model to be perpetually kept in view by his people.

I pass by the story which the present tradition of the country reports, that St. Ninian first settled in the Isle of Whithern, three or four miles from the present Church and town, and afterwards removed to that which was his ultimate position. It seems incompatible with the history, which speaks but of one place, and that the one where he at first engaged in building his Church ; for it was in progress at the time St. Martin died, that is within a year after his arrival in Britain. There is an old dismantled Chapel, as it were a land-mark, on the top of one of the hills in the Isle, which the people connect with St. Ninian, and consider the oldest Church in the kingdom, as if it

were his Church. It is however much more recent than even the ruined Church of Whithern ; it is a plain oblong Chapel, with very thick walls, and one narrow pointed window in each of the sides, with niches, and the other recesses usual about the east end : a lone deserted place without roof, which from its thick walls and simple form, suggests the notion of great antiquity ; but certainly is not connected with St. Ninian.

At Whithern then he gave a visibility and local habitation to the Church. The service of God would here be daily celebrated with the simple dignity which befits the image of heavenly things, and the unseen presence of Saints and Angels. The rites which the Roman Church had derived from her founders, or introduced in after times, as the spontaneous expression of the spiritual mind, the language, if we may say it, the very bearing, and graceful movements of the Spouse of Christ, would there be embodied, and form after the like-model the minds of those who came to worship, or abode continually in her courts. With the building there was a society of religious persons formed, living with their Bishop, consisting of Clergy to maintain the unceasing services of the Church, to prepare for the higher offices, or to teach the people, and of laymen, who sought here to lead a devout life under the shadow, and within the very walls of the sanctuary.

That St. Ninian should form such a society was antecedently probable. The monastic life had been introduced and sanctioned in the western Church by the most revered men ; and the association of Bishops with their Clergy or other religious people, had been recently adopted by those whose judgment St. Ninian would be most guided by. St. Siricius, it has been

said, preferred to choose Clergy from monks ; what then was more natural than that the Bishop should himself form, and rule such a society ? He had himself to probably lived in one at Rome, and would love its religious calm for the sake of his own improvement.

For the account of this indeed and the remaining events of St. Ninian's life, and the institutions and system which he adopted, we are chiefly indebted to the accounts of his miracles, which form the rest of St. Aelred's life. But this, for obvious reasons, will not appear a valid reason for questioning their truth, considered as common facts. A long time, certainly, had elapsed between St. Ninian and St. Aelred ; and though we must put at a much higher date the composition of the life, from which St. Aelred derived his history, still some considerable time may have intervened, during which we must trust to the traditions of his Church. It may then be said we have little evidence for these facts ; we have, however, all which the circumstances of the case admitted. And we have this in particular that they were believed by men, who had much more means of judging than we possess. They were believed, I mean on the whole, for it is very possible that Aleuin, St. Aelred, and the Scottish Church generally, received them as they were handed down, not attempting to distinguish—to receive part or to reject part, where they had little or no grounds for making such distinction. To us however they convey much real information as to the way of life of the Saint. I do not mean by mentioning circumstances which might have been inserted by the narrator ; but by the facts which form the very groundwork of the story, so that if the miracle was believed, which it must have been in very early times, it must

have been the case that these facts were also generally believed. And a general and early belief in common facts would be admitted as evidence by many who would hesitate to receive it for uncommon ones, particularly if these common facts were what might otherwise be expected. Nay, we may go further ; they who consider that St. Ninian was a friend of St. Martin's, engaged in the work of converting a barbarous people, and who are familiar with the authentic history of the saints of that age, will look on miracles as things be expected, as what under the circumstances were natural ; and so they will, in the same way, give an assent to the miraculous narration, as what may very possibly, at least, be true ; though from the nature of the evidence they would not positively affirm it in each particular case ; and in the same spirit they may praise God for His glories thus manifested, as they may for those of His natural works, though they are in doubt or error as to the physical facts. Hymns are not the less religious because they are philosophically untrue ; nor is the piety unacceptable which saw traces of the deluge in the shells upon the mountain top, though recent investigations have taught us to doubt of their connexion.

To return, then, to our history ; it appears that one of St. Ninian's earliest works was the formation of a religious community, where he and his Clergy might live together, having all things in common. It is of course most probable, that he adopted the plan from those of St. Eusebius of Vercelli, St. Augustine, and especially St. Martin, and that his society, as theirs did, would consist of laymen as well as clergy.

The evident advantages of such an institution led to its general adoption in the missions of the following

age. It was a home where sympathy, support, and counsel, might be had from men like minded, and engaged in labouring the same great ends. Hither men were gathered, who desired to serve God more entirely than they could do in the world, to lead a heavenly life, in contemplation, prayer, and praise. It became a very school of sanctity, where men earnestly desiring virtue associated round one of known sanctity, to be guided by him in their way to heaven, to copy the traits of holiness in him and in their brethren. Thus was a body formed which gave light to others, so that men were drawn out of the contaminating and lowering influence of the world, and brought together under a strict rule and with a professed aim after holiness.

And this must have been of singular importance at a time when Christianity was now becoming the religion of the many, and whole nations were being converted. It presented a difficult problem to the heathen philosopher, how the mass of society could be renewed, when the few in whom the principle of goodness was implanted were scattered, unseen, and lost among the numbers who surrounded them, and by whose way of life, as they possessed no higher visible standard, they were lowered and corrupted. The Gospel undertakes to effect it by gathering out these scattered instances of goodness, and uniting them in one visible society, by the tie of a professed standard of practice ; to be a city set on a hill, a light put upon a candlestick ; providing, moreover, for training up, and forming the characters of others, by instruction in the truth, and a life regulated by holy discipline. Such was the Church itself, in its first ages, when the few Christians were closely bound together, and broadly distinguished from the unbelievers who surrounded them. At the time, however,

when this was no longer possible, when the world came into the Church, and all were members of that society, it pleased God gradually to introduce into the Church itself minor combinations of its holiest members, who, without the danger of individual profession, and bound by obligations which humbled them in the thought of their shortcomings, might continue as memorials of what had existed in a former age, and schools and models of practical religion. We have schools for all other arts, for all those acquirements which need rules and practice, and, above all, imitation, seeing how others do what we wish to learn. In secular matters we recognize the advantage of an experienced teacher and corrector, of being united with others engaged in the same pursuits, and of the improvement derived from observing how they attain to excellence, or how they fail in the minute details of their daily work ; surely it is only reasonable to have some similar institutions for learning the most important and the most difficult of all acquirements, that of a holy life, and the practice of the varied graces of the Christian character. How many a practical difficulty might thus be solved ! How many a soul which had entangled its course, and rendered its perceptions of duty obscure and uncertain, might here be relieved ! The chief part of Christians have duties in the world, and they have, amongst the Saints, patterns and guides for leading a devout life in the discharge of those duties : but some are ever called to a life where they may serve God more directly, and these are especial means of keeping up the general tone of religion, and supply helps and encouragements, as well as a true standard, for those who are in the world.

Such may the Saints of Whithern have been, pre-

senting by their purity, meekness, heavenly mindedness, and peace, a specimen of what the fruit of Gospel righteousness is ; a contrast to the pride, and worldliness, and violence, which reigned among the heathen ; and a special means of attracting to the Church, all in whom the elements of purity and goodness had life and activity. Devotion was the end of their association and their rules—to imitate on earth an angelic life ; to this all was subordinate ; for this they rose betimes, they fasted, they watched, they kept a constant guard on their senses and their thoughts. Thus to please God they cultivated all Christian graces, humility, obedience, and love ; they were silent to converse with God, turning their eyes from the objects of earth, that the mind might see those of heaven, and seeking in this life to be cheerful, resigned, and happy. The system of the monks would necessarily have its modifications when adopted by clergy, whose office called them to be accessible to their people, to go out on journeys and to preach and to administer the Sacraments to a scattered people. But even then they carried with them in silence, recollection, and prayer, and the devout saying of their Psalter, the spirit and the practices of their holy home, and by their gentleness and humility would win over the poor and simple people among whom they laboured.

They probably supported themselves by their own labour, and such voluntary offerings as might be made to the Church. The former belonged to their life as monks, the latter as clergy. Their chief food was vegetables ; leeks are especially mentioned ; these were the produce of a garden of their own, which was under the care of one of the brethren, whose business it was

thence to provide the supply necessary for their daily repasts. It was a simple life deriving support from the grateful earth ; a condition which maintained in them a continual dependence on Him who feeds the young ravens, and enabled them to sympathize with the poor ; as being themselves without provision from day to day, and having really made themselves poor for the sake of Christ. Nor should it surprise us that at times they were almost in want of the necessities of life ; since, for some time, St. Ninian had to struggle against much opposition, and his labours seemed to produce scarcely any fruit.

It was in such a time of need that the traditions of Galloway represent the Saint as receiving a supply of food by miracle. And before we allow ourselves to judge lightly of the simple tale, let us recall the numerous instances in Holy Writ in which miracles were wrought for supplying bodily wants ; perhaps there is no class of which the cases are so many. The Bishop and his brethren went one day into the Refectory, but their usual meal of leeks and other herbs did not appear. The brother who should have provided them was called. He had only the disappointing tale to tell, that they had no provisions left, all the leeks had been put into the ground for seed, and none remained for them to eat. Perhaps it had been a bad season and their garden crops had failed. The Saint bid him go to the garden and bring what he found. He was astonished at the command, knowing there was nothing there, but habitual obedience and the thought that the Bishop could not command any thing without good reason prevailed. He went, and behold, the process of nature was anticipated, and the herbs were found not grown up only

but in seed. There is a very useful lesson at least taught here, to obey though it seems useless ; difficulties vanish from the path of the determined.

And by this simple way of life, and the exercise of useful arts, as the Egyptian monks made mats or baskets, and the cultivation of their garden, and afterwards by keeping flocks and herds, they would suggest many a useful lesson to the uncivilized people around them, and introduce among them improvements which were otherwise unknown. This has ever been a part of the work of missionaries in barbarous nations, tending to the real improvement of the people, winning a way to their good will, and teaching them to look up, in things spiritual, to those who were so willing and able to help them in earthly concerns.

But there was one other object to which St. Ninian made his monastery especially subservient. His own religious history, the wants he had felt, and the privileges he had enjoyed, and the very design for which he had returned to Britain, would lead him to regard sound theological training as of the utmost importance for his clergy. He had himself sought in vain for those who could teach him the truth ; he had seen the evils which resulted from the want of a steady holding to the right faith, in the unsettledness and spiritual deadness which prevailed. He had come to remedy those evils. Where could it be better effected than in his college ? This was healing the fountain, it was providing that those who, each in his own sphere, was to teach others, should himself be in doctrine as well as life a model for them to imitate. The advantages he had enjoyed at Rome he came to impart to Britain ; and the monastery at Whithorn was the place where

the system of theological teaching he has known there would be adopted for his own clergy.

He would himself first, as they were able to bear it, lead them into a full and exact knowledge of the truths of religion, by such a course of oral and catechetical instruction, as would transfuse into their minds the great ideas with which his own was impressed. He would accustom them by rule and instance to an accurate literal exposition of Scripture, and still more to that wonderful system of mystical interpretation, which the spiritual mind spontaneously suggests, and, when duly instructed in it, carries through the whole of Scripture. And in both he would aid them by the study of the works of the earlier fathers, and of the living lights of the Church, the great masters of dogmatical and interpretative Theology, St. Augustine and St. Jerome. Nay, it will appear that he perpetuated his teaching by composing works, probably for their benefit. In consequence Whithern became a school from which the teachers of the northern Church were sent out.

Another very important part of his institution was a school for the young, rising up, as in some of our Sees, under the shadow of the Cathedral, as in olden times it formed an essential part of the Capitular establishment. It was most important to rescue, as far as might be, the children of heathen or evil-minded parents from the contaminating influence of their homes, and both with them and others to keep the young mind from losing the innocency of its regeneration, and to train it in habits of virtue, and the knowledge of the truth. It was indeed sowing seeds, which might for a long time seem buried, but would at last grow up to noble trees. And from among the breth-

ren, as in after times, there would be found those who teach the little ones, and themselves be both refreshed and improved by it. Refreshed by the sweetness and simplicity of their innocent minds, naturally thinking no evil, without anxiety, ambition, or guile ; which is to the harassed mind what a garden of flowers is to the weary, where they may repose amid fair objects, and where all is peace. Improved, because their own ideas would be cleared, and made more real by having to impart their knowledge to the unsophisticated minds of children. Nor was the Bishop without his own share in the work. He taught the children himself, not unmindful of the precept to feed the lambs, just as Gerson, the great Chancellor of Paris, is said through life to have maintained the practice of weekly catechising little children. It was a mark of the sweetness of St. Ninian's character that he was loved and revered by his little ones ; and this circumstance was so prominent among his works that the characteristic which one historian gives him is, that he was a distinguished trainer of children.

Connected with this, there was a story for which people could, in St. Aelred's time, point to what were held to be living evidences, which brings out the Bishop as the father of these little ones. But it is best to adopt or paraphrase the words of St. Aelred. " Many, both of the more noble and the middle rank, placed their children under the care of the Saint, to be taught the knowledge of religion. These he instructed with learning, and formed to habits of virtue, restraining by wholesome discipline the faults to which their age is liable, and implanting virtues by which they might live in sobriety, justice, and piety." It happened on a time that one of the boys offended,

and preparations were made to punish him. The boy, in alarm, ran away ; but knowing the power and goodness of the Saint, and thinking he should find a solace in his flight if he did but take with him anything belonging to the good Bishop, he took off the staff on which St. Ninian used to support himself. In his eagerness to escape he looked out for a boat which might carry him away. The boats of the country St. Aelred then describes. They were of wicker work, large enough to hold three men ; over this wicker work a hide was stretched, and the boat would float and be impervious to the waves. They are the same boats which Pliny and Cæsar describe, and in which the Britons would cross the sea to France or Ireland, or even go voyages of many days. They are called *currachs* or *coracles* ; they were long in use in the Western Isles, and still are among the fishermen on the Wye.

There happened just then to be many large ones making ready on the shore. The wicker work was finished, but the hides not put on. He very incautiously got in, and the light boat at first kept on the top of the waves, the water not at once making its way through ; soon however it did so, and there seemed no prospect but that it must fill and go down. He knew not whether to run the risk of leaping out or staying and sinking. In the moment of his distress, however, he thought of the holiness and power of St. Ninian ; contrite for his fault, as though weeping at his feet, he confesses his guilt, entreats pardon, and by the most holy merit of the Saint begs the aid of Heaven. Trusting, with childlike simplicity, that the staff was not without its virtue, as belonging to the Saint, he fixed it in one of the openings. The water

retreated, and, as if in fear, presumed not to pour in." "These," says the saintly Aelred, "these are the works of Christ, Who did say to His disciples, he that believeth in Me the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater things than these shall he do."

A gentle wind arose and forced on the little boat, the staff supplied the place of sail, and rudder, and anchor to stay his course. The people crowding on the shore saw the little ship, like some bird swimming along the waves, without either oar or sail. The boy comes to shore, and to spread more widely the fame of the holy Bishop, he in strong faith, fixed the staff in the ground, and prayed that as a testimony to the miracle, it might take root, send forth branches, flowers, and fruit. Presently the dry wood shot out roots, was clothed with fresh bark, produced leaves and branches, and grew into a considerable tree. Nay, to add miracle to miracle, at the root of a tree a spring of the clearest water burst forth, and poured out a glassy stream, which wound its way with gentle murmurs, grateful to the eye, and, from the merits of the Saint, useful and health-giving to the sick.

With what interest would this tale be told to the pilgrim strangers, and the tree and fountain shewn as the evidences of its truth in those days of simple faith ! And with hearts lifted up to God, and trusting in the aid of St. Ninian's prayers, many a poor sick man would drink of the clear stream.

Men of this day may smile at their simplicity ; but better surely is the mind which receives as no incredible thing, the unusual interposition of Him who worketh all things according to the counsel of His own will ; better the spirit which views the properties of a salubrious spring as the gift of God, granted to a faith-

ful and holy servant, than that which would habitually exclude the thought of the Great Doer of all, by resting on the Laws of Nature as something independent of Him, not, as they are, the way in which He usually works ; or thanklessly, and as a matter of course receive the benefit of some mineral waters.

However, we were speaking of St. Ninian's school, and we have seen the aged Bishop, for the event is related near the close of his life, leaning on his staff, and ordering the boys to be punished ; and we see too what kind of scholars he had, and how deep was their veneration for him, even when they were doing wrong ; how simple their faith in the presence and power of the Almighty.

Another narrative brings more before us the personal habits and religious life of St. Ninian, and this we should much wish to know. We have followed him through his holy childhood, and his pure and humble youth, have seen in opening manhood his deep and reverend love of Divine knowledge—his relinquishing the world—his progress in piety and perception of the Truth. And one characteristic which had been formed and strengthened by his obedient love of Him, who is unseen, was now brought out, the fixedness of his thoughts amid the distractions of the world, and his attention to Divine things. This indeed is the state in which reason shows us we ought to be ; for it is to have our thoughts dwelling on what is true, permanent, and most concerning, instead of what is transient and unreal. And to him its effects were most blessed, enabling him to sustain a calm and tranquil mind amid the hurry and trials of his toilsome work ; leading an angel's life, diligent and laborious, and doing all things perfectly, as the angels unceasingly minister

for us ; but without excitement and hurry, even as they, by retaining the contemplation of the Divine glory, and a simple union with the Divine will, are undisturbed. It had doubtless ever been his practice from the time that as a child he turned his thoughts and loving affections towards his Heavenly Father, and afterwards dwelt in pious meditation on the truths he laboured so earnestly to learn. And he sustained it by keeping a constant guard against wandering, dissipated thoughts ; by occupying his mind in holy things, that the house which had been swept and garnished, might yet never be found empty ; by not seeking to know anything which did not concern him. He was assisted by a practice which we often read of in the lives of Saints, that of reading or saying the Psalms, or earnest meditation, at times when circumstances would most tend to dissipate the thoughts ; which probably every one feels to be the case in those seemingly unoccupied times, when one has to walk or travel alone. Then it is for most people, perhaps, impossible to keep the thoughts fixed without some external help, the very moving and changes that occur distract and unsettle them. To guard against this and another evil, that of idle and vain conversation, St. Ninian, on his journeys, always carried his Psalter and some book for religious reading ; and, besides saying the Psalms, when he stopped to rest, or to refresh his horse, (for he used to ride on his long travels through the rough woods and hills of his diocese,) he would take out his book and read with careful attention.

And to secure himself from any unnecessary occasions of distraction, he seems to have observed the rules which our good Bishop Wilson gave himself, and so has most forcibly given us. “Never be curious to

know what is passing in the world, any further than duty obliges you ; it will only distract the mind when it should be better employed." "The best way to prevent wandering in prayer is not to let the mind wander too much at other times, but to have God always in our minds in the whole course of our lives."

We may here quote the beautiful language of St. Aelred. It was intended as a lesson for lay people, living at home, as well as for professedly religious men. It was to be read in the long winter evenings in the hall, as well as in the refectory. It has been read in many a house and many a monastery, in the olden times of merry England ; it may have awakened then a sense of the importance of guarded thoughts, and the danger of curiosity. It may do so for some one now.

"When I think," says the good Abbot, "of the very religious habits of this most holy man, I am filled with shame at the slothfulness of this our miserable generation. Which of us, I ask, even at home among the members of his own family, does not in social intercourse and conversation, introduce more frequently jocose than serious subjects, idle rather than useful, carnal than spiritual ones. Those lips which Divine grace has consecrated to praise the Lord, or to celebrate the holy mysteries, are daily polluted by detraction and worldly talk, and whilst they feel a distaste for the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Prophets, they run the live-long day through the vain and shameful works of men." And when they travel, is not the mind like the body, in continual wandering, the tongue in idleness to any good ? Reports of the characters of ungodly men are continually brought forward ; the gravity suited to a religious man is destroyed by laughing and stories ; the affairs of Kings, the duties of Bishops,

the ministrations of the Clergy, the contentions of the powerful, above all, the life and character of every one is the subject of discussion. We judge every thing except our own judgment; and what is more to be grieved at, we bite and devour one another, so that we are consumed one of another. Not so the blessed Ninian; crowds hindered not his tranquillity, nor did travelling interfere with his meditations, nor his devotions become lukewarm through lassitude. Wherever he was journeying he raised his mind to heavenly objects in prayer or contemplation, and when he turned aside on his journey, to rest himself or his horse, he delighted to take out a little book, which he always carried for the purpose, and read, or said Psalms, for he felt what the Prophet David says, "How sweet are Thy words unto my throat, yea, sweeter than honey unto my mouth."

Nay it was said so highly favoured was his practice, that by special grace the very rain was turned aside from falling on him, forming as it were a vault above and around him. And once it happened, to give the substance of St. Aelred's narrative, that he and his brother, called Plebeia, a man of equal holiness, were on a journey, and as was their wont, so-laced themselves with the Songs of David. When they had travelled some distance they turned from the public road to rest themselves awhile, opened their Psalters, and were refreshing their souls with religious reading. Presently, the bright clear sky was clouded over, and the rain fell heavily; the thin air, however, like an arched vault, formed over the servants of God, and continued as an impenetrable wall against the falling waters. Whilst, however, they were saying their Psalms, St. Ninian turned his eyes

from the book, an unlawful thought, nay, an unrestrained desire, affected his mind. The supernatural protection was withdrawn, and the rain fell on him. No useless lesson this—that the unseen guardianship which is over us in prayer, which screens us from evil, that the grace which is then around us, is for the time withdrawn, if wilful distractions are admitted. His brother observed the change, and understood the cause ; he gently reminded him of his fault, and the Saint, coming to himself, blushed at having been carried away by foolish thoughts, and in the same instant he threw off the imagination, and the rain was stayed.

It is to be hoped the reader will rather seize the lesson this ancient tale affords, than smile at its simplicity. Who can say how many a wandering thought has been checked by thinking of it, when the brethren of Whithern, day by day, and year after year, said their Psalter in St. Ninian's Church—checked by recalling the lesson which it teaches ; of evil kept off from the soul by earnest attention, and falling unrestrained upon it when we wilfully wander.

The next miracles are connected with the trials of St. Ninian. His portion, as that of all the saints, was to follow in his Master's steps, to labour for the unthankful, to win souls by suffering, to endure reproach, to bless those that cursed him. There are intimations incidentally occurring in the latter part of his life, which shew that he was often in danger from powerful men, and exposed even to the loss of life.

The chief opposer of his labours was a king of those parts, called Tudual ; the prince, perhaps, of the whole tribe of the Novantes. He was, for a Galwegian chieftain, wealthy, powerful, and influential, but withal

proud, grasping, and the slave of passion and unbridled license and ambition. It may easily be conceived that he felt the opposition which existed between his own spirit and St. Ninian's, and instinctively resisted him. He felt that he belonged to a kingdom which must fall before that, of which the Bishop was a minister, and strove the more earnestly because his time was short. The admonitions of the holy preacher were disregarded, his lessons of righteousness, temperance, and judgment were derided ; his teaching, nay his holy life, were assailed and detracted from ; all the influence the prince possessed was exercised to withstand him, and his doctrine was met with open and direct opposition. For a time the enemy summoned so much strength, and exercised so wide and baneful an influence, that it seems as if the conversion of the people was becoming hopeless. It was as a land on which the gentle dew and rain from heaven fell in vain ; it brought forth no fruit, but only thorns and thistles, and seemed nigh to be given up as accursed and reprobate.

But the prayers and patient sufferings of the Holy Brotherhood at Whithern, went up for a memorial ; they wielded the weapons of the Saints, meekness, righteousness, and truth ; and their intercessions for their persecutors and defamers prevailed. When their cause seemed hopeless, the Divine arm was lifted up to help them. He who took the lead in resisting them, the resolute persecutor and opposer of the truth, felt a hand laid on him to stay his course. Tudual was seized by a violent illness, which ended in the loss of sight. Laid on a bed of suffering, and precluded from the sight of the outward world, reflection brought him to himself. His conscience recalled the marked events of his soul's history, and his opposition to St.

Ninian would be the most prominent. The possibility of all proving true which he had often scoffed at ; the consciousness of his wrong doings, even according to his own ideas of wrong ; the undefined dread of future retribution, all would combine to awaken consideration. Then the purity of the Christians' lives—their present peace—their future hopes—would suggest the thought how much better it were to be as one of them ; nay, that there was something in them more than human ; the miracles scoffed at before would recur to his memory, and the truth of the Saint's claims take possession of his mind. So it was ; a light spread through the soul, whilst the outward organs were in darkness. Repentance and confession of his wrong doings followed, and without delay he called for his friends, took their advice, and sent them with expressions of contrition and humiliation to St. Ninian. He besought him not to treat him as he knew he deserved, but to imitate the mercifulness of his Lord, to return good for evil, love for hatred.

We may imagine the deep joy which the holy Bishop felt at the return of one who seemed lost for ever. In his mind there was no place for glorying over a fallen enemy, no notion of personal triumph, no revengeful delay of reconciliation, but a going out to meet him whom he saw afar off. He offered up first a prayer to God, a prayer of thankfulness for this work of His grace, a prayer that his enemy might be freed from his sufferings, and at once set out with the utmost humility and devotion. At first he gently reproved him for his sin, then with healing hand touched his head, and impressed upon his eyes the sign of our salvation. At once the pain was gone and the blindness departed. Tudual became a sincere convert, humility and purity took the

place of his former vices, and he devoted himself to St. Ninian's guidance, treating him with the deepest reverence, as recognizing that God was indeed with him and guided him in all his ways. The effect of this miracle of Divine grace in the conversion, even more than in the cure of the strenuous persecutor must have been very great. The power and influence which had been used to oppose, would now be devoted to aid the cause of religion, and so exercised, would indeed produce their true and proper results. To this time, probably, we may assign the general conversion of the people.

It was, perhaps, during the period of the previous persecution that the event occurred which St. Aelred next narrates. It was important as removing a scandal which might have stood greatly in the way of the progress of religion. It seems that clergy were fixed, whether before St. Ninian's arrival, or by him, in separate districts, which St. Aelred, in the language which would be most intelligible to his readers, designates as parishes. An unhappy girl who had been seduced by a powerful master, at his instigation, accused the clergyman of being the father of her child. The effect was astounding. The good were distressed ; the weak offended ; the wicked rejoiced ; and the low-minded ridiculed ; the whole sacred order was blasphemed by the ungodly. St. Ninian, however, was inwardly assured of the innocence of the priest ; and in full trust took the most public means of manifesting it. He proceeded to the Church, summoned the clergy and whole body of the people, preached and then confirmed. The mother appeared with her child and openly denounced the priest ; the utmost excitement prevailed ; shame and derision were the portion of the good ; when St. Ninian called on the child just born

to declare his father ; a voice was given to the infant and the truth declared.

One other miracle is recorded, which, like the one of the school boy, was associated with a permanent record in the name of the place, and a mark in a stone which, in St. Aelred's days, was shown in Galloway. But now we know nothing of the stone, and Pinkerton says, there is no place which he knows of the name. The miracle itself is, in some points, like one narrated by the Ecclesiastical historian, Sozomen, of St. Spiridion, a shepherd Bishop in Cyprus, who continued his simple employment in the care of flocks, after he was chosen to be a shepherd of souls. Of course there is no reason why the miracle should not have been performed by both saints. And if there be reason to think that the Almighty did exercise miraculous powers through His Saints, and that around them and in them there was a spiritual agency at work, let us be cautious how we judge these tales, let us tread carefully on what may be hallowed ground.

The story is this. St. Ninian and his brethren had many flocks and herds, which they kept for their own use ; for milk and cheese would be monks' fare ; and for hospitality to strangers and the use of the poor ; making provision to fulfil the precept which Bishops and their chapters and all monasteries were used to keep in mind, to exercise hospitality without grudging. These cattle were kept in pasture grounds, at some distance from the monastery, and St. Ninian went to bless the herds and their keepers. The Bishop had them all brought together, lifted up his hands, and committed himself and all that was his to the guardianship of God. He then went round them, and with his staff marked the ground within the limits

of which they were to stay, something like what was afterwards done as a superstitious spell. He then retired to the house of an honourable matron where he and his brethren were to lodge. After refreshing themselves with food, and their souls with the word of God, they retired to rest. Meanwhile robbers arrive, and seeing the herds unenclosed and unguarded, expect an easy prey. The cattle remain quiet, no sound is heard, no dog even is heard to bark ; they enter within the limits, but do it to their cost. The bull of the herd attacks and severely gores the ringleader of the thieves, and himself, digging his hoof violently into the ground, impresses the mark of it on the rock, as if in wax. The mark remained, and the place was called in Saxon, Farres Last, that is, the Bull's foot-mark, Tauri Vestigium, as the Latin life explains it. Meanwhile after his regular morning prayers, St. Ninian arrives, finds the poor robber with his entrails torn out, and now lifeless, and the others running about as if insane, within the limit he had marked around the cattle. He was deeply moved with pity, and entreated that the robber might be restored to life ; nor did he cease from prayers and tears till the same Power which had caused his death restored him again to life. The other robbers who seemed possessed on seeing St. Ninian, fell at his feet in fear and trembling, and begged forgiveness. He kindly reproved them, pointed out the punishment which awaited the robber, and at last, after giving them his blessing, allowed them to depart. The result was the sincere conversion of the man whose life had been restored.

Perhaps the strangeness of this narrative ought not to be any hinderance to our believing it. As the most wonderful instance of his prayers being heard, even to

bringing the dead to life, its circumstances are especially dwelt on in the religious services for his day. And we are sure the people of Galloway would have been disappointed, if they had not found this story in the Life of their own Sainted Bishop ; for like the tree and the spring, Farres Last must have made an early and deep impression on their minds ; and often doubtless was the story told to the stranger who passed that way, and to their own little ones, and they would go to see the deep impression of the bull's foot ; and the sermon which St. Ninian had preached would be afresh inculcated, and the fact appealed to as the most vivid evidence of the wrongness and the possible unexpected evil which might at any time await the cattle stealer.

We may now pass on to St. Ninian's conversion of the Southern Picts, of whom he is designated the Apostle.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conversion of the Picts.

THE labours of St. Ninian extended over a wide district ; and were exercised among great troubles and dangers, from the unsettled state of the country, and the continual hostilities which prevailed. The tract of country, which, so far as we know, had no Pastor but himself, stretched from sea to sea, and, besides the (now) English portion of it, from the wall of Antoninus to that of Severus. The Western part, however, was his special care. The rest was a scene of war and rapine during the chief part of his Episcopate ; and

after fruitless endeavours to repel the inroads of the mountaineers, the Roman forces were at length withdrawn A. D. 410, and the Provincials left to defend themselves as best they could.

The tribes of St. Ninian's diocese had retained their original divisions of clans, and though they were rendered less fit to cope with the unsubdued and uncivilized portions of the same great Celtic race, whom we know as Picts, they yet combined, and maintained themselves as a distinct people in possession of their territory. The Picts might rob, but do not seem to have displaced them. The separate princes united in the election of a common leader, and though harassed by internal broils and breaches of their federal compact, the Western tribes, with the exception of Galloway, continued for six centuries as an independent body, forming the British kingdom of Strathclydd. During all the wars which rent this unhappy district, Britons, Picts, and Scots, it is said, united in reverencing St. Ninian. He was allowed to travel, without molestation, through countries which were the seat of war. His calm presence seemed to breathe of peace and love, and to inspire awe even in the wildest barbarians. It has been so in these latter times. The Isle of Man was to be spared by the French, for the sake of Bishop Wilson, and in the wars of the Low Countries at the beginning of the last century, the Archbishop of Cambray was treated with reverence by all the contending parties, and made his Episcopal journeys unmolested in the midst of hostilities.

Who can say that it was not owing to the influence of the holy truths, and the practical goodness inculcated by St. Ninian, that the tribes of his diocese did

so unite and retain a social life after the convulsions which resulted from the departure of the Romans ?

And now, after many years of patient toil and assiduous teaching, having brought the people, immediately committed to him, to some unity of faith and goodness of life ; his ardent desire for the salvation of men prompted him to undertake the conversion of a tribe, who did not as yet know the name of Christ, and were bitterly hostile to his own countrymen. These were the Southern Picts, a division of the numerous tribes, who, secured by the mountains of the Highlands, had never submitted to the yoke of the Romans, and now in the decline of their power revenged themselves on them, and on the tribes of their own island, who had yielded and been civilized by them.

It seems that Caledonians and Picts are but different names for the same people, given originally to one tribe or other, according to the circumstances of their localities or ways of life, and then borne by all in common. As inhabitants of the forests of the Lowlands they had early had the name of Woodmen, Caledones, given them. Another portion again who occupied the plain country between the Grampians and the sea, to the north of the Frith of Forth, were called Peithi, a name which signifies inhabitants of the open country, and by the Romans, Picti, (as the Welsh *peithen* is from the Latin *pecten*, and *effaith* is from *effectus*,) and from them the whole race received the name. It was the coincidence between their own Celtic name, and their painted bodies, which gave a point to the well known line of Claudian, "*non falso nomine Picti*," which would have had little force, if they were only called so, because of their being painted. These

inhabitants of the plain country are the Southern Picts. Those who remained in the fastnesses were called Northern Picts, and the distinction of these two portions of the race would become more marked, from the different habits of life, which would gradually result from their different localities. The distinction was recognized in the middle of the fourth century, when they were respectively called by the Romans, *Deucaledones*, and *Vecturiones*; of which the former, it is said, means separate or far Caledonians, those, that is, farther removed from the Roman districts; and *Vecturiones* is another Celtic form of Picts, P and V being interchanged, and the rest of the word, *Peithwyr*, or *Peithwyron*, differing from simple Picts, as Englishmen does from English.

These *Vecturiones*—they to whom the name of Pict first belonged, are the tribe of which St. Ninian was the Apostle. They had first established themselves on the Eastern coast, as has been said, north of the Frith of Forth and of the Roman wall; and many authors confine them to this district. Others say that after the withdrawal of the Roman forces they passed the wall, poured in upon the Eastern coast of Valentia, and took up a position which they permanently occupied, south of the Forth, in the Lothians, and even reaching to Northumberland; they had previously acquired more settled habits than the mountaineers, and so were fitted to establish themselves permanently in the countries they subdued. They existed as a separate people in the time of Bede, who accurately distinguishes them from those who lived within the mountain district. It was, he says, when St. Columba went to convert the Northern Picts, that he found

the Southern ones had been converted previously, and, as they stated, by St. Ninian.

It seems most probable that it was after their occupation of the country south of the Forth, (supposing they did occupy it,) that he went amongst them. It was that occupation which gave them a more distinct and permanent nationality ; nor is it to be supposed, that they should have become Christians, and afterwards have attacked with so much cruelty the people to whom they were indebted for the knowledge of the Gospel ; we will not think so ill of them, barbarians as they were. And the dates would lead to the same conclusion. The Romans retired in 410. Ninian had then been thirteen years in Galloway. He lived for twenty-two years longer. The first thirteen years would not be more than enough for the work he had to effect among his own people. The last twenty-two allow space for the Picts to have come down and occupied the Eastern portion of Valentia, and to have been visited and converted by St. Ninian.

They had overrun and seized on a part, the farthest from his Church, of that wide field which had been committed to his care. He was not then going beyond his measure in endeavouring to win them over. It is an early and a beautiful instance of the power of the Church to reduce under her saving sway, and by the armour of truth, meekness, and righteousness, those whom carnal weapons had in vain opposed—to lead captive the conqueror.

“It deeply grieved the Holy Bishop,” St. Aelred proceeds, “that Satan, when he had now been driven from the rest of the world, had found a place in the hearts of the Picts, in a corner of the island, near the ocean. He girt himself accordingly as an energetic

athlete to put down his tyranny, taking to himself the shield of faith, the helmet of hope, the breast-plate of love, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." As associates in his labours, as comforters, and advisers, after the example of St. Paul, he took with him a body of holy brothers, those of his Clergy and religious society, who were most suited for the work. Happily they had not to overcome the hinderance of a different language, for though the dialects of the various portions of the Celtic race were distinguished, there still remained a sufficient similarity to allow of their being mutually understood, even after a much longer and greater separation than had yet taken place ; as it is said the people of Brittany and the Welch now understand each other. They had however great difficulties to struggle against, in the antipathy which the free Celts entertained for those who had been under the Roman sway—an antipathy stronger than is felt towards people of quite a different race ; and again, from the circumstance that they were themselves the aggressors, who had seized on the territories of the Southern tribes. Still there was something calculated to melt their savage hearts in the presence of one among them so different from any they had known before, preaching the doctrines of purity, humility, and forgiveness ; whose graces, notwithstanding, would be recognized and loved by all in whom there was a principle of good. He was one of the people they had attacked, cruelly treated, and displaced, and he was amongst them, not with the tone of complaint upbraiding, or revenge, but meek and gentle, possessing a sweetness of temper, and a calm and cheerful mind, which he pointed out to them the means of attaining.

Their religion was the same as that of the other tribes of the island had formerly been, though one would suppose, in a more rude state of superstition than the richer portion of the people, among whom the Druids were so superior a caste. St. Ninian called them to forsake their idolatry and superstition, and to turn to that Almighty in Whom, though unknown, they yet believed ; to Him, Who gave them rain from heaven, filling their hearts with food and gladness. He called them from the conscious misery of their present state—from the bondage of vices which galled their very soul, to an obedience and submission, which at once brought relief. He told them of permanent existence, and a future responsibility, of which a voice within testified the truth ; and he professed himself the minister of a gracious dispensation, which would secure those who embraced it in a future dreadful day. This preaching would carry conviction with it to those prepared souls which are found amongst the uncivilized barbarians, as well as among simple rustics or refined philosophers. Wherever man is, there are hearts and consciences which will correspond to the simple doctrines of religion, and be conscious on hearing it of the truth that one thing is needful. But his words, it is said, were not unaccompanied by convincing signs that he was indeed what he professed, a messenger from that great unseen Being in whom they believed. He performed miracles among them. “The blind see,” St. Aelred says, “the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the possessed are set free from the demons that afflict them.” Thus does he apply the description of our Saviour’s works to those of His servant. “He that believeth on me the works that I

do, shall he do also, and greater things than these shall he do, because I go to the Father."

Perhaps had the evidence for these miracles been asked, the conversion of the people would have been appealed to as a sufficient proof—the effect most distinctly establishing the cause. And had the converts been asked the grounds on which they believed, an appeal to the miracles would probably have been their answer. Indeed, those who profess themselves ready to admit the probability of miracles, where there is an apparently adequate cause for them, must allow it in the case of the Gospel being preached to a barbarous people ; since the tangible and obvious evidence of a miracle is best calculated to affect them strongly, and to gain an attention for the preacher, which it would require a long life amongst them, and a long manifestation of the living miracle of a saintly character to obtain.

St. Ninian, it is said, first converted the king of the tribe, whose influence was exerted to further the general acceptance of the Gospel among his people. Such was at this period the usual course of conversion. In the earlier ages, individuals were gained over here and there, unknown to the world, and generally of humble rank, and from them the holy influence spread to relations and neighbours, and those who had the opportunity of seeing what the Gospel had wrought in them ; and so the leaven was diffused through the whole mass, and at last affected the rulers of the world. Afterwards the course was generally the reverse. Kings were converted, and brought their subjects over to the profession of Christianity. The early ages gained men by their own individual persuasion, and the work was slow. In the latter

period it was more rapid ; and if the converts were now more influenced by earthly motives, their posterity at any rate reaped abundant blessings from being brought into the fold of Christ. Perhaps this change is indicated, when after the lame and blind had not filled the feast, it is said that the last messengers were to compel men to come in.

It is but reasonable to suppose that St. Ninian's preaching was extended to those of the Southern Picts, who still continued in their earlier settlement north of the Frith of Forth. Indeed as has been said, many writers confine the settlement of this race to the northern districts, and do not suppose them to have had any permanent settlement south of the Roman Wall. The question however, is not of any importance in its bearing on a history of St. Ninian. Some again have confounded the southern Picts with the British inhabitants of Valentia. Others, with the race called Picts, who came from Ireland, and occupied Galloway in the ninth century, and who alone bore the name in the later period, when the proper Picts were lost among the other nations who occupied Scotland. St. Ninian was ever known as the Apostle of the Southern Picts, and as his proper mission was to the inhabitants of Galloway and Valentia generally, it was not unnatural to imagine these tribes to be those who are meant by the Southern Picts. They were however clearly a distinct tribe ; and it is a confirmation of the truth of St. Aelred's history that he does so distinguish them, as Bede had also done, and as the Collect for St. Ninian's day, in the Aberdeen Breviary, "*Deus, qui populos Pictorum et Britonum per doctrinam Sancti Niniani Episcopi et Confessoris docuisti.*"

It was not however enough to gain the people to a profession of the Gospel ; St. Ninian also provided for the permanent maintenance of the Church, by the consecration of Bishops, and regular establishment of Clergy. His biographer says, “he ordained Priests, consecrated Bishops, arranged the ecclesiastical Orders, and divided the whole country into parishes.” The last is noticed as an anachronism, as the system of parochial division did not generally arise till a much later period. It may however very probably mean nothing more than the division of the country, so that the Priests might each have his own definite sphere of labour ; which was very necessary in so wide and thinly peopled a district. In the consecration of Bishops we do not know whether St. Ninian acted alone, as was allowed in cases of necessity ; and would be the more so here, as he was not apparently included in any province, of which the other Bishops might assist in the consecration ; or whether some of the British Bishops joined in the sacred rite. They might still be remaining in their Sees, but were far removed from this country, and the hostilities and dangers which prevailed might hinder them from coming.

We are equally in ignorance as to the succession of the Bishopricks ; of which we know no more than of those of the ancient Britons. It was very possible that they might have been numerous, as those of Ireland were. Of the portion North of the Forth, Abernethy was the Bishoprick, and so continued till later times, the Bishop, or as he was sometimes styled, Archbishop of that See, being called the Bishop of the Picts. In all probability St. Ninian would leave some of his own clergy, as the Priests and Bishops of his new converts. They could not themselves so

soon have persons who could be entrusted with the sacred office of preserving the deposit of the truth, and St. Ninian, from his own experience, would be conscious of the value of a long and careful preparation for the sacred ministry. Nor is there any reason why we should not suppose that he revisited the Picts, and from time to time supplied what was wanting for the completeness of their ecclesiastical system. St. Aelred, indeed, speaks as if all had been done in one visit, but he might naturally adopt such a summary mode of narration when he was without any distinct information of the particulars of the visits. He passes on at the conclusion to the tranquillity which characterized the latter days of the Saint. "When he had confirmed the sons whom he had begotten in Christ in faith and good works, and arranged all which seemed necessary for the honour of God and the salvation of souls, the Saint bade farewell to his brethren, and returned to his own Church, where he spent the rest of his life, perfect in holiness, and glorious by his miracles, in great peace and tranquillity of mind."

By the Picts his name was remembered, and the Church he formed among them preserved. It was above a century after when St. Columba came amongst them, and they then professed Christianity, and mentioned St. Ninian as the Bishop by whom they had been converted.

CHAPTER IX.

St. Ninian's latter Days.

AND now that we have followed the Saint through the broken incidents of a holy and laborious life, there are few remaining points on which to dwell, but such as they are, they will be interesting to recount.

And first, of the personal habits of St. Ninian. Holy and spotless as he had been through life, it would seem as if he might have been free from penitential austerities, and have spared the hardships which others must use with themselves. But such views proceed on erroneous notions, since they contradict the practice of the most eminent saints. The most pure and holy have ever been the most severe in their mortifications. Holy men, such as he was, become, as it would seem, not only indifferent to worldly comforts, but lovers of suffering endured for Christ's sake, and that principally from the love of Him. It seems to them, so to say, unnatural to live at ease, when He endured so much on their account. And they may suffer in a way which corresponds to His sufferings, by suffering for their people, by accompanying their earnest intercessions with those acts of mortification which are natural in deep sorrow. There is ever before them the sight of some, lost to their true interests, passing day by day from a life of folly and forgetfulness into an unchanging state ; and yearning for their recovery and salvation, yet unable to effect it, when their words seem to them as idle tales, to weep, to fast, to pray, to endeavour to prevail with God for them is

their natural resource. Then again, in a deep humble sense of not having corresponded to the influence of Divine Grace ; the consciousness that though they have not wilfully and obstinately continued in sin, yet they have not improved duly the spiritual privileges afforded to them ; the knowledge of imperfection and tendencies to sin—all these are so clearly seen, and acutely felt by those who really love God, that the sorrows and afflictions of saints are ever penitential. Let us not then be surprised, if, when we draw near St. Ninian, and learn his secret ways, we do not find contrivances for comfort, or the enjoyment of life.

They show on the coast of Galloway, on the face of a lofty and precipitous line of rocks, against which one of the stormiest of our seas incessantly beats, a damp chilly cave, lying one third of the way, it may be, from the bottom of the cliff, and accessible only by climbing and springing from rock to rock. It is a deep recess, running back some twenty feet, and gradually narrowing from the mouth, where it may be twelve feet high, and as many wide. There is nothing to screen it from the winds and spray which beat against the rock, no bottom of earth to rest upon, but only bare uneven stone. Here, the tradition of the country says, St. Ninian used to come for penitential and devotional retirement ; and it is not improbable. For a religious person in those days, to retire to a cave, nay, to live in one all his life, was no strange thing ; it was but to follow in the steps of the confessors of the earlier dispensation, who lived in dens and caves of the earth. It was the ordinary practice of good people thus to deprive themselves of every earthly comfort, and to realize the time when they should be completely stripped of all which this

world can afford, in the cold and silent tomb. To practise as it were beforehand, what every one at some time must actually undergo, silence, and loneliness, and reflection ; without any thing of this world to occupy the thoughts, or to afford outward comfort. St. Ciaran, the Apostle of the Scoto Irish, had a cave in Kintire ; and near St. Andrew's, the place of of St. Rule's retirement, there are many caves which were the retreats of religious men ; and he whom St. Ninian specially revered, the Saint of Tours, as we have seen, lived with his associates in caves. It has been thought that they were places of concealment, to which a holy man might retreat from the persecution his preaching would excite ; and there was need St. Ninian should have such a protection, for he was not unfrequently in danger from the attacks of the obstinate and the unbelieving. One would rather, however, view them as places for religious retirement, and imagine the holy Ninian going aside to rest awhile, from the many who were coming and going, to withdraw at seasons from the hurry and distraction of his office, to consider his own state, to examine his spiritual progress, to mourn over what was evil, to deprecate the Divine displeasure, and to intercede for his people ; and surely it seems more fitting to do so in a lone and cheerless spot, out of the reach of men, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, with the wild winds howling around, and the sea and the waves roaring, and sea-birds screaming, than surrounded by comforts, and the appliances of luxury. And if it is rather probable antecedently, that St. Ninian should have a place of retreat, and the practice of the times would lead him to choose a

cave ; we should most naturally believe it to be that, which popular tradition has pointed out.

Another instance of his mortified life, not it is presumed uncommon in the histories of saints, is the practice, as it has been reported, of abstaining from all food during the awful season of our blessed Redeemer's sufferings, in sympathy, penitence, and love. It is said he tasted nothing from the evening of Maundy Thursday, till he had partaken of the Holy Sacrament on Easter Day.

There is an old Life of St. Ninian in Ireland, referred to by Archbishop Usher, which reports further acts of self-denial, and withdrawal from all that winds itself around the heart, even the dearest ties of blood. It says that the mother and relations of the Saint were used to visit him, and that to separate himself from all intercourse with them, he went over to Ireland, accompanied by some of his disciples, and there, on a piece of ground given him by the king, founded the monastery of Cluayn Coner, where he spent the rest of his life and died. The account of his retreat is one of those stories which may illustrate character, and show what it was thought he would do ; but as a matter of fact, it has no authority, and as regards his death, is contrary to the best testimony, which represents him as having died, and been buried in his own Church, at Whithern.

We have one more point in which to view St. Ninian, and then we will take leave of him—that is, as an author ; in which character he appears in the ancient collections of our national writers, by Leland, Bale and Pits. It is by no means improbable, indeed most likely, that he should commit to writing what would be for the good of his clergy and scholars. He had

stored up at Rome the lessons of the great teachers of the Church ; he had doubtless studied the writings of others, and himself through life meditated on the Holy Scriptures. He was now but perpetuating for the benefit of others, the spontaneous outpourings of his mind, or the solutions of those difficulties which were proposed to him. Such is the character of the writings which are attributed to him—Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and in particular, Meditations on the Psalms. These were the Meditations which had been the solace of his travels on the wilds of Galloway, the fruits of a deeply contemplative spirit exercised on those sacred words, which, by their continual repetition, and adaptation to the varying circumstances of the Christian life, are associated with our holiest thoughts. The other work of which the title is handed down, was one composed, doubtless, as a Theological Manual for the Clergy and Students of Whithern.¹ It was a collection of Sentences from the Fathers, of passages expressing their sentiments on points of doctrine and morals ; most probably arranged under heads, and so forming a body of divinity, and giving the most important portions—the very essence of their writings. The value of such a work to St. Ninian's clergy can scarcely be over-rated. They could not afford a large library, and might have read much without obtaining the advantages which such a selection would afford. It might, we may imagine, have been St. Ninian's work at Rome, where he had leisure and

¹ “ Ex iis autem quæ post se reliquit, aliqua saltem nomine tenus tenemus teste sexto senensi,

Meditationum in Psalmos Davidis librum unum ;
De Sanctorum Sententiis librum unum.”

Pitseus de Illustribus Britannia Scriptoris, p. 87.

free access to libraries, and where such a commonplace book would have proved a useful aid in his own studies, to enter the passages which he would most wish to preserve. For though the most voluminous of the Fathers, as we have them, were only sending out their works during his stay at Rome, there were many remains of older ones which we have lost. And he was now only making that which had been intended for his own reference and perusal, a benefit to others ; and very great was the use of such a selection, in instilling and preserving sound doctrine in the minds of those who were to teach others.

Such was St. Ninian, the young and noble Briton, who, for the love of Christ, and the true knowledge of Him, went forth from his country and his father's house. Such was he ; a laborious apostle, enduring toil, difficulty, and reproach, in bringing men to Christ ; a mortified ascetic, and meditative student ; a kind teacher of babes, a humble, gentle, and circumspect governor of a religious society. And great was the fruit of his labours, in the recovery and salvation of souls, great in the glory of which he himself was made a partaker.

His life had been continued till the year 432, that is above seventy years. During the last five-and-thirty, nearly half of the whole, he had laboured in the wild, barbarous, and unsettled country to which he had been appointed as a Missionary Bishop. Worldly honours, comforts, possessions, he had cast behind him. He lived for God, and to do His will. His peaceful days of study and meditation in the sacred city, he might look back upon as sweet and holy days, full of spiritual privileges, and the source of many a blessing ; but it

would be as one surrounded by the rich fruits of autumn, would look back on spring ; as very fair, and in its time seeming more pleasant, but chiefly valuable as instrumental towards the true good which he is now enjoying, though it may be, among many labours. But such labours, it has been beautifully said, are sweet—sweet as those of the husbandman, who rejoices in the heavier load of corn by the increased value of his possessions—sweet as to the gatherer of frankincense, by the delights elicited in his toils.

Advanced in years, surrounded by his spiritual children and friends, beholding the effect of his labours, the time is come for him to depart.—To adopt the words of St. Aelred, “To the blessed Saint himself that day was a day of joy and gladness ; to the people over whom he presided, one of tribulation and distress. He rejoiced, for heaven was opening to him. His people grieved at being deprived of such a Father. He rejoiced, for a crown of immortality was preparing for him. They were in sorrow, because their salvation seemed in danger. Nay, even the fulness of his joy was impaired by his love for them ; to leave them was a heavy trial, but to be longer separated from Christ, appeared beyond endurance.

“But while his soul was thus delaying, Christ consoles him, ‘Rise up,’ He said, ‘my beloved, my dove (in the English Version,¹ ‘my love, my fair one’), make haste, and come away.’ ‘Rise up, my beloved, rise up, my Dove.’ Rise up in thought, make haste by desire, come by affection. Suitable, indeed, were these words to this most blessed Saint, as one to whom, as the friend of the Bridegroom, that heavenly Bridegroom had com-

¹ Cant. ii. 10.

mitted his Bride, to whom He had revealed His secrets, and opened His treasures. Deservedly is that soul called beloved, in whom all is made up of love, and there is nothing of fear. 'My beloved,' He says, 'my dove.' My dove—a dove truly taught to mourn, that knew nothing of the gall of bitterness, but wept with those that wept, was weak with the weak, and burned for those that were offended. 'Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.'

"'For lo ! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone.' Then, O blessed Saint, the winter was indeed past to thee, when, with happy eye, thou didst gain the sight of thy heavenly country—that country which the Sun of righteousness illumines by the brightness of His light, which love warms, and a wonderful equality, like the attempering of the spring-time, regulates by an ineffable unity. Then the unseasonable winter which fills all on earth with discomfort, which hardens the frozen hearts of men by vices that fall upon them, where neither truth shines, nor love burns to the full—this was past and gone, and thy holy soul, completely triumphant, escaped from the showers of temptations, and the hail-storms of persecutions, into the beauty of perpetual verdure.

"'The flowers,' he says, 'have appeared in our land. For around thee, O blessed Ninian, breathed the odours of the flowers of Paradise, when on thee, as on one most familiar to them, the multitudes of those that are clothed in crimson and white, smiled with placid countenance, and bid thee to their company—they whom chastity has clothed with white, and love with blushing crimson. For though no occasion was afforded thee to give the sign of bodily martyrdom, still that without which martyrdom is nothing, denied

not the merit of martyrdom. For so often as he offered himself to the swords of the perverse, so often as in the cause of righteousness he opposed himself to the arms of tyrants, he was prepared to fall in the cause of truth, and to die for righteousness. Deservedly then is he admitted among the flowers of the roses, and the lilies of the valley—himself clothed in crimson and white, going up from Lebanon to be crowned among the hosts of heaven.

“‘For the time of the vintage is come.’ For soon, as a full ripe cluster, he must be cut from the stem of the body, from the vineyard of the Church on earth, to be pressed by love, and laid up in the storehouses of heaven.

“Thus the blessed Ninian, perfect in life, mature in years happily departed from the world, and attended by angelic spirits, was borne to heaven; and there associated with the company of the Apostles, mingling with the ranks of Martyrs, and united to the bands of holy Confessors, adorned with the Virgins’ flowers, he ceases not to succour those on earth who hope in him, call on him, and praise him.

“He was buried in the Church of St. Martin, which he had himself built from the foundation, and placed in a stone coffin near the altar, the Clergy and people standing by, and lifting up their heavenly hymns with heart and voice, with sighs and tears. And at this place the power which had shone forth in his life, ceases not in death to manifest itself around his body, so that all the faithful recognize him as living in heaven, because it is evident that he produces effects on earth. At his most sacred tomb, the sick are cured, the lepers are cleansed, the evil ones are affrighted, the blind receive their sight. And by all these things

the faith of believers is confirmed to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

The death of St. Ninian occurred on the 16th of September, A.D. 432; and on that day his memory was celebrated in the Scottish Church, in Catholic ages, with deep veneration, as their chiefest Saint, to whom first they owed it, that they had been brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. The service for the day in the Aberdeen Breviary is very beautiful, and in connexion with his history, most interesting. It contains nine Lessons, extracted from St. Aelred's life, and throws into devotional form the various events we have been recording. The circumstances of his life and miracles are expressed in hymns and proses, antiphones and responses, which once were chaunted in his praise throughout all the Churches of Scotland. His name and day were noted in the Kalendar prefixed to the Scottish Prayer Book of King Charles the First.

The rest of St. Aelred's work is occupied by a detailed account of miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Ninian, which it is not necessary now to narrate. "When the Saint had been taken up to heaven," he says, "the multitude of the faithful continued to visit, with the deepest devotion, what seemed to be left them of him—his most holy remains, and out of regard to their piety and faith, the Almighty showed, by the evidence of numerous miracles, that, though the common lot of mortality had taken His Saint from the earth, yet he still lived in heaven." A distorted child was first restored; this led many to hasten to bring their varied diseases before his holy relics; in particular, a man

covered with a cutaneous disease of a most horrible kind was restored ; then a girl, who had lost her sight ; and two lepers were made clean by bathing in his spring. “Through his prayers,” to quote a hymn for his day, “the shipwrecked find a harbour, and the barren woman is blessed with offspring ;” and St. Aelred says that the power continued to be manifested even in his own times.

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion.

AND now, that we have followed St. Ninian through his laborious life to his peaceful rest, we may not unnaturally wish to know what became of his Church and people after he was taken from them. On this point however our information is very limited, and much is left to be inferred from probabilities.

He had introduced the Ritual and Observances of the Roman Church, which were certainly different from those which the Britons used. Of these however no traces can be discovered. It would seem as if they had been lost among the changes which occurred between his death and the time of Bede ; for, though that writer carefully sought for instances of conformity with Rome, he makes no mention of this, which would have been marked in itself, and known to the Saxons at Whithern. The Church of St. Ninian may herein have conformed to the practices of the other Britons, un-

der the Episcopate of St. Kentigern, or have quite sunk into obscurity.

We should naturally expect that the instructions he established, would, for a time at least, be maintained ; that the religious society would hold together, and continue its work, as a refuge of piety and teacher of religion ; and there is some confirmation of this expectation in the statement of Scottish historians, that St. Ninian's monastery was a school which supplied teachers for the people ; and that of Bede, that the body of the Saint, with those of many holy men rested in the Church of Whithern, as though there was there a home of Saints.

As regards the succession to his See, we are altogether without information. It is possible that in the troubled state of the country, when the Picts and Scots were so grievously afflicting the Britons, and when there certainly was so great a want of earnestness among the British Bishops, they may have neglected to supply a successor to St. Ninian ; and the monastery and country priests may have continued without a pastor, trusting to occasional missionary visits, such as those of Palladius and others. The Church he loved so well was now desolate, and a widow. This seems most probably to have been the case till the time of St. Kentigern, who fixed his See at Glasgow, and included in his diocese the district which had been St. Ninian's care, and it is said, completed the work of conversion. That diocese, as has been stated before, extended over the south-west of Scotland, and the Cumbrian Britons, as far as Stainmoor ; and Whithern, whether it retained its monastery or not, became subordinate.

Meanwhile the Saxons were occupying England ;

were themselves being converted ; and their power rapidly increasing, accompanied by a depth and earnestness of religion, perhaps unequalled in any people. From being the most barbarous, they became the most devout. The nation seemed a really Christian nation, and England was indeed an Isle of Saints. A spirit of piety was diffused through every class. Political measures were in consequence determined by the principles of the Gospel ; and Saxon conquests were Christian ones, subordinate to the great objects of extending the privileges of religion, and procuring everlasting good for those whom they subdued.

It was the lot of Galloway in the eighth century to be overcome, and partially occupied by them, as a portion of the kingdom of Bernicia ; and they too revered St. Ninian ; and in the place where he was resting, and where his miracles were recorded to have been wrought, they established a monastery, and introduced a new succession of Bishops, under the metropolitan See of York. Then it was that Bede wrote of St. Ninian, and Alcuin was in correspondence with the brethren of the monastery. This succession continued as long as the Saxons had possession of Galloway ; and the names of the Bishops are recorded from 723 to 790.

After this it was again broken ; for fresh incursions afflicted the unhappy country. They were now overrun, not by a people who introduced a pure religion and social improvement, but by hordes of Irish, called Cruithne, or Picts, which is said to be a word of the same meaning ; a distinct race, be it observed, from all who had previously borne that name. They were an uncivilized and very savage people, who brought their own religion and habits, and established them here.

They were long known as the wild Piets of Galloway, and continued as a distinct and notoriously barbarous people till after the time of St. Aelred ; indeed Gaelic continued to be spoken here till the time of Mary Stuart. These are the Piets of later times, from whom the Piets' wall is named. During the dreary period which followed their invasion, the Bishop of Man, the nearest See, took charge of the deserted flock. A work of love which may add some little to our interest in that lowly relic of the Celtic Church.

In the twelfth century however brighter days beamed on Galloway. The power of the Saxon race who ruled in Scotland increased, and the Lords of Galloway, with their country, became dependent on the sovereign, and enjoyed the dangerous distinction of being the first to make the onset in his battles. David I. was a devotedly religious prince ; the perfect example, as historians not disposed to flattery have called him, of a good king, whom St. Aelred loved and mourned over as though he were his father. His great object was to restore religion in Scotland, and with this view he founded Bishopricks and monasteries throughout his dominions, and St. Ninian's See was first restored.¹ But such was the fallen condition of the Scottish Church, that no Bishop was left to consecrate the newly appointed one. And by the direction of the Pope, Thurstan, the Archbishop of York, performed the office. The Bishop, Gilaldan, from the evidence of ancient custom, as he said, acknowledged the obedience of his See to York ; referring to the time of the Saxon succession in the eighth century. Gallo-

¹ If it had not been, it was earlier ; as some think, by Malcolm III., in the preceding century.

way thus again became part of the Province of York, which gives the English Church another claim on St. Ninian ; and so continued, certainly till the fourteenth century, and perhaps till the establishment of St. Andrew's as a metropolitan Church in the fifteenth. Thus was the Church again restored in Galloway, and continued to flourish till the change of religion in the sixteenth century ; her Bishop, out of regard to St. Ninian, and the antiquity of the See, taking the first place among the Scottish Bishops.

Soon after this new foundation of the Bishoprick, the Lord of Galloway, Fergus, followed up the work of his sovereign and friend, and imitated in Galloway the course he had taken in the rest of Scotland. He is spoken of by the historians of Galloway as in his sphere, one of the greatest benefactors of his country. He found his people wild, barbarous, and irreligious, and to effect a reformation among them, he established monasteries, as sources from which flowed forth the blessings of holy example and Christian teaching, and moral and social improvement, which in time took effect upon the people.

At Whithern he introduced a body of Præmonstratensian canons, an order then recently established, and full of life ; it was an offset from Saulseat, where he had previously brought a colony from Cockersand, in Lancashire. These formed the Chapter, (the Prior, during the vacancy of the See, being Vicar General) and elected the Bishop, though with occasional opposition from the secular Clergy. It was soon after the foundation of the Priory that St. Aelred wrote his Life of St. Ninian, and the chancel of the Church was built not long after ; the publication of the Life probably

making the virtues of St. Ninian known, and drawing numerous worshippers and offerings to his shrine.

From that time the Saint was held in the highest veneration, and his shrine visited, and his intercession sought by people from every part. Thousands of pilgrims came every year ; and a general protection, very necessary in those days of Border warfare, was granted by James the First, in 1425, to all strangers coming into Scotland to visit St. Ninian's tomb ; and in 1506 it was renewed for all persons of England, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, coming by sea or land to the Church of Whithern in honour of St. Ninian.

Numerous Churches in every part of Scotland are dedicated to him. In England there is one at Brougham, in the diocese of Carlisle, within the limits of his ancient diocese, the name of which is now corrupted into Ninechurch ; and another, it is believed, at a place, called St. Ninian's, in Northumberland, where an annual fair is held on his Day, (O. S.) Sept. 27. Many wells too in the Border counties are called by his name, and believed to have special virtues derived from him ; never drying in the hottest, or freezing in the coldest weather ; and still thought by the people to wash linen whiter than any other water.

The accounts of miracles wrought, and blessings obtained through his prayers, enter largely into the ordinary civil history of Scotland. For instance, David II. received several wounds from the English archers, at Neville's Cross, before he was taken prisoner ; one of the arrow heads could not be extracted, and remained, it is said by the historian of the times, till he went to St. Ninian's, then the flesh opened and the arrow head sprung out.

Besides other kings and nobles who visited the

shrine, James IV., on whom the memory of his father's death hung so heavily, made a pilgrimage to St. Ninian's (so Whithern was usually called), once at least every year. The treasurer's books of his reign contain many notices illustrative of the circumstances of his visits and his large almsgivings. One pilgrimage he made on foot to pray for the safety of his Queen on the birth of her first son, and, after her recovery, she came with a great attendance to return thanks for the blessing she had received. This was Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. and the mother of our Stuarts.

In the next generation, when Whithern was again without a Bishop, these pilgrimages continued so rooted in the habits and affections of the people, that the utmost zeal of the preachers could not put them down, till they were made punishable by law, in 1581. Such was the regard for our holy Saint, and so deeply fixed in the minds of those who had been blessed by him. And doubtless it still lingers in the belief of those who enjoy the fair water of his springs, or show his cave to the passing stranger, or glory in the honour the Saint once gave to their native town.

James I. restored a Bishop to Galloway, who was consecrated in 1610. The succession continued till 1689 ; when John Gordon, the last Bishop, followed the King to Ireland and France, and continued to perform the offices of the English Church at St. Germain's. He died abroad ; and St. Ninian's country was again included in the diocese of Glasgow—in name, at least, for throughout the whole district of Galloway, there is no Clergyman or congregation in communion with the Scottish Bishops. So entirely has that portion been swept away, so dreary a region to an English-

man is the country, which St. Ninian blessed by his labours and his prayers.

In 1684 the tower of the Church was still standing among the ruins of the aisles, transepts, and extensive monastic buildings. All these are gone ; but we may still trace them partly in their foundations, partly as portions of houses, partly as used for building materials, or kept as ornaments. The chancel has been preserved, being used by the Parishioners, till of late years, as their place of worship. It was built upon the site of much more ancient buildings, which had been the crypt, as it would seem, of an extensive Church ; for there are large vaults of old and rude masonry around, which rise higher than the level of the chancel floor. They must have been part of the original Church of St. Ninian, of the fourth century ; or built by the Saxons in the eighth century, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether they are not really part of a Church, the building and date of which are so marked in the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. The chancel is a well proportioned and beautiful specimen of the early English style. The South-west door-way is round, and elegantly worked, the windows pointed, of single lights. In the north wall, in the usual place near the east end, are two canopied recesses, apparently sepulchral ones, nearly on the level of the floor, in one of which doubtless St. Ninian's body lay.¹

¹ The words, north and east are used, though improperly, for the Church stands north and south ; a circumstance which we may connect with St. Aelred, for that is the position of his Abbey Church at Rievaulx, and persons are sometimes glad to repeat even defects, when they remind them of a place they love. Fergus loved Aelred, and planted a colony of Cistercians from Rievaulx at Dundrennan ; St. Aelred himself was in Galloway, and probably concerned in founding the Priory.

This even is now dismantled ; a new building was erected about twenty years ago, which is the place of worship for the Parishioners ; and the roof and furniture were removed from the old chancel, and the mere walls left ; and that Church—once the most honoured in Scotland, where the holy remains of St. Ninian lay, and crowds of suppliants sought his intercession, where once the chaunt was heard by night and day, where holy men anticipated and prepared for heaven—that Church is now bare and roofless, exposed to the wild winds ; grass grows upon the pavement, and ivy and wild flowers ornament its walls. A sad sight indeed ; but it is beautiful in its ruins, and more pleasing far thus consecrated by loneliness and desolation, than defaced by incongruities, or applied to uses inconsistent with its spirit. A sad sight indeed, but one which harmonizes well with the condition of that system of which it formed a part ; a system the fair relics of which we love to trace in history, and complete in imagination ; which once was, and is no longer. Here St. Ninian laboured to raise a spiritual as well as a material Building, and to frame it in its services and doctrines after the Catholic model. Where is that Church ? Where are those services now ? There remains but a ruin of what once existed in beauty and honour.

LIVES
OF
THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

St. German,
BISHOP OF AUXERRE.

MANSUETI HÆREDITABUNT TERRAM, ET DELECTABUNTUR IN
MULTITUDINE PACIS.

LONDON :
JAMES TOOVEY, 192, PICCADILLY.

1844.

Henry Mozley and Sons, Printers, Derby.

ADVERTISEMENT.

CARE has been taken in the annexed work, to avoid as far as possible all dogmatism upon disputed points of doctrine and discipline. The austerities of Saints and the miracles they performed, are, in some measure, an exception ; both because the numbers of those who have ungenial feelings with regard to them, are gradually diminishing, and because they form as it were the very substance of ancient Hierology. At the same time many things which are out of date in this country, have been produced just as they were found in original documents for the sake of historical veracity. Facts have been often related as facts without any intention of proposing them as examples. For which reason little has been said about the development of any principle into its consequences, or the different stages of the process, as necessarily involving an opinion and a decision upon the thing developed or the reality of the development. Those miracles which have been given without any stress upon the authority or evidence, are here considered true and credible as far as testimony can make any thing credible. Still on the circumstances and accidents chiefly has the weight been laid, inasmuch as probable evidence varies in its influence in proportion to the shades of human disposition and prejudice. Where no authority is given, that of Constantius, the contemporary of St. German, must be

supposed ; elsewhere the author or the sources of the information are distinctly marked. Hericus, the Commentator of Constantius, after his original, stands out among the recorders of these miracles.

Lastly, the dates of Boschius the Bollandist have been followed. Though on some occasions it might have appeared warrantable to depart from them, yet it was safer not so to do. Dates are, as many other things, like a house of cards. Take away one, you endanger the whole fabric. The chronology of the learned Jesuit is all of a piece. It is finely interwoven with the facts, and it does not materially vary from that of our great Chronologer, Archbishop Usher.

LIFE OF
St. German,
BISHOP OF AUXERRE, A. D. 418-448.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

THE subject of the following narrative will be called, not St. Germanus nor St. Germain, though precedents are not wanting for these forms of his name, but St. German. This it is believed is his true English name, as connected with the ancient and warm sympathies of our country. Several places still bear witness to these sympathies, while they support the assertion just made. The town of St. Germans in Cornwall, with its old Priory, the Abbey-church of Selby in Yorkshire, dedicated to St. German, the Cathedral church of the Isle of Man, a chapel yet visible in the Abbey of St. Albans, and the field of a famous victory obtained in Wales, by the Britons under St. German's auspices, and still called Maes Garmon, or Field of German : these are the most prominent instances, though doubtless there are many other traces of the Saint and his name, in that storehouse of old traditions and fond remembrances, Wales.¹

¹ He is called German in Cressy, Collier, Stillingfleet, Dugdale and Camden ; In the Primer of Queen Mary, Germaine, but in the Psalter of Elizabeth, German.

St. German was born in the fourth century, and flourished in the beginning of the fifth. He was not a Briton by birth, parents, or habitual residence. Yet he is numbered among English saints on account of his great services to our nation, and has been honoured with the high title of Apostle to the Britons by his contemporaries and by subsequent writers. He was bishop of Auxerre in France, a town not very far from Sens, which was the metropolitan See, and the name of Auxerre is commonly added to his own, to distinguish him from another famous St. German, bishop of Paris a century later. ¹Six other distinguished saints are also mentioned as having at different times, and in different countries borne the same name ; a martyr near Amiens, a bishop of Constantinople, a bishop in Africa, a martyr in Spain, another at Cesarea in Cappadocia, and a bishop of Capua. The canonization of St. German of Auxerre was not determined by those rules which in later times were introduced to avoid mistake ; either the age in which he lived was marked with greater candour, or his character stood too high to require any investigation. The testimonies to his fame from early writers, equal, one might almost say, the number of authors in Gaul or Britain, who lived within a few centuries of his own time. St. Gregory of Tours has transmitted to us the words of St. Nicetius, who, a century after St. German's death, wrote to a person in high authority in the following way : " In what language can I speak of the illustrious German, Hilary or Lupus ? such miracles are performed at the time I write before their shrines, that language fails me in relating them. Persons afflicted by demoniacal possession are suddenly raised and suspended in the air, while undergoing the

¹ See Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751.

ceremony of Exorcism, and proclaim publicly the glories of these Saints." Accordingly Auxerre, from the date of his elevation to the bishopric, became the object of universal reverence in the West. No town in France, say the learned,¹ can boast of such a number of precious offerings. Yet there is nothing in the natural advantages of the place to raise it in men's consideration. To the mere traveller for pleasure, Auxerre must appear very insignificant. The country around is uniform and tame. Its vineyards produce excellent wines, but vineyards are in reality not pleasant objects to behold. The river Yonne is large enough to supply the town with the necessities of life, but too inconsiderable on the other hand to give much dignity to the walls it washes. The buildings are not of the most stately and attractive appearance. Many collegiate Churches in France exceed St. Stephen, the cathedral of Auxerre, in architectural beauty. Yet notwithstanding Auxerre has ever had more than the ordinary respect of Christendom, which is to be traced up to St. German its founder and benefactor. Such was the title of this Saint to Canonization; not any formal examination into his claims, but the general consent of men, the acknowledged reality of his miracles, the proverbial use of his name, the durable efficacy of his saintly life.

St. German's name is found in all the early martyrologies and calendars. Martyrologies are not confined to the names of Saints who have sealed the Faith with their blood, else were he excluded from them. He was a Confessor. In the presence of danger and amidst much suffering, he bore witness to truth and opposed profane violence. Yet were his sufferings chiefly self-imposed;

¹ Gallia Christ. Abbayes de France Beaunier, tom. II.

and occasioned by the mortifications of a singularly ascetic life ; and unless we except the temporary difficulties to which he was exposed by the contact of barbarian chieftains, voyages at sea, and opposition of heretics, his life may be said to have passed on the whole calmly and quietly. He died at Ravenna in Italy, surrounded by the imperial court, and attended by several bishops of note. In the later martyrologies, his day is appointed to be kept on the 31st of July, as the editions of the Roman, by Baronius and Ussuard, shew. But in ancient times, the 1st of October was, together with the former, observed in his honour ; and it is no small commendation (if he needed any.) that his memory was blessed solemnly by the universal Church in the West twice a year. At Auxerre, as many as six days were devoted to the praise of its Patron. One may add for the benefit of persons accustomed to distinguish between the relative importance of days, that the 31st of July is still kept in France as a Duplex, and at Auxerre as a Duplex Primæ Classis, according to the dignity of the Patron of a Church.

But we have yet to inquire before we enter upon the details of his life, what was that peculiar connexion of St. German with England which has deserved him the title of an English Saint. A short notice in one of Bede's¹ minor works will explain this point sufficiently for the present purpose. "The Pelagian heresy, he says, was disturbing the faith of the Britons ; on which account they implored the assistance of the Bishops of Gaul, who sent to them German, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, both endued with Apostolical gifts, to defend the Christian Faith. The two Bishops, on arriving, restored religion to its purity by

¹ Bede de sex Aetatibus ad an. 4402.

the word of truth and the evidence of miracles. Moreover the Saxons and Picts were engaged in war with the Britons at that time, and had united their forces. Whereupon the two champions undertook their defence, and through Divine interposition defeated the enemy. For German assumed himself the conduct of the war, and instead of making use of the Trumpet, gave orders that the whole army should strike up the cry of Allelujah, which terrified their formidable adversaries to such a degree that they took to flight." This, as it will be seen, occurred in his first visit to England ; but he also paid the Britons a second, the circumstances of which are not in all points attainable from the remains of so early a period. The fact however is certain, and is not only related by Constantius, the original biographer of St. German, by Bede, and Hericus a monk of Auxerre, but testified by the words of the martyrology of this last town. "The 31st of July, it says, is sacred as the day of the decease of St. German of Auxerre, at Ravenna. He was a bishop distinguished for his birth, faith, doctrine, and wonderful gift of miracles. Having been sent into Great Britain together with St. Lupus, of Troyes, by the prelates of Gaul, he overthrew the Pelagian heresy in that island ; and again a second time having resorted thither with Severus of Treves, he entirely eradicated the remaining seeds of that error." It will be seen by this that the companion of St. German was not the same on the two occasions, the former being St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis, and the friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, and the latter Severus, an eminent Bishop of Treves, the residence of the imperial Prefect.

These are the principal reasons which justify us in ranking him among our own worthies. Nor is he

solitary in this claim to naturalization. Palladius, (not to speak of St. Augustine, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others,) Palladius, the apostle of the Scots, was not a Briton ; some have thought he was a Greek by birth, who was attached to the Roman See. In truth there are distinguished persons in history who appear to belong to no nation exclusively, but to be the common property of society. Of this kind were the Apostles of our Lord ; they were claimed as Patrons by every Church they visited, and their Jewish origin was merged, so to say, in the wider privileges of Catholic birthright. Such also in his degree was St. German. He is French, because he flourished in Gaul ; he is British, because he converted Britain from heresy ; he is Italian, because he terminated his glorious career at Ravenna. Next to the service of establishing primarily the Christian Faith in a nation, none may deserve higher praise (if the word may be used for what is above praise,) than that of extirpating error, and restoring the Doctrines of the Church to their natural purity. Such was St. German's work for the British Church. The establishment of Christianity in this island dates, as has been already remarked, from times Apostolical ; but in process of time Orthodoxy was assailed by the perversions of the well known Pelagius, who in all probability was himself a Briton, and who by means of his emissaries created a schism in our Church, and threatened the very foundations of its existence. Deputed by the Gallican bishops with the sanction of Pope Celestine, German fulfilled the object of his mission, and secured to himself the eternal obligations of the Britons, with the illustrious title of Apostle.

Were there not very vague notions afloat of the state of Christendom in the fifth century, it might be suffi-

cient to leave the details of his life to adapt themselves to the circumstances of his times, according to general principles of history. But the particular crisis in which the Western world was placed when he was raised to the office of Bishop, has given rise to some confusion. In the minds of many there is no middle between an age of barbarism and one of refinement. But in truth, the line by which we may distinguish one period from another, is often arbitrary and indefinite. On the bare mention of the invasion of the barbarians, some would expect nothing but ignorance, vice, and superstition. Yet in general the most overbearing revolutions are incapable of destroying at once the great features of the manners of any period. There is a state of transition which precedes a new era, and which partakes of the characteristics of the two contending influences. The middle ages are supposed to begin with the invasion of the barbarians in the fifth century ; but whoever will consider the protracted existence of Roman institutions and manners for centuries after that time, will necessarily abate his ideas of barbarian ascendancy. The great invasion of the Goths into Gaul took place in 406, that is, twelve years *before* St. German was Bishop of Auxerre, and twenty-eight *after* his birth, consequently in the very flower of his years. Honorius, the brother of Arcadius, and the son of Theodosius the Great, was then emperor of the West. The effects of this invasion were dreadful beyond description. Its fury seems chiefly to have raged in that part of France in which Auxerre is situated. Mayence, Strasbourg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, situated in the north-eastern parts of that country, are noted as the objects of unlimited devastation. "The consuming flames of war," says Gibbon, "spread from the banks of the Rhine over the

greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich, and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their homes and altars." Traces, it may be added, were left long after at Auxerre of the presence of these relentless invaders. But after all the accumulated circumstances of their oppression are taken into account, it still remains constant that the great bulk of the people in Gaul continued Roman in institutions, manners, language, arts, and religion. There was no indiscriminate division of the conquered lands among the conquerors, as Montesquien has proved, and in many cases conditions were stipulated, which, while they secured the liberty of the natives, were more advantageous to the aggressors than wanton violence. Again, though we should admit the most extreme opinions concerning the multitude of the barbarian invaders, yet had they been distributed over so large a country as Gaul, their numbers would have been very inadequate for any sudden revolution. Consequently, in the first invasion of 406, it appears their sojourn in particular places was not long; and after they had exercised their wonted pillage, they moved onward without securing what they left behind. Thus Auxerre, with a large district in its vicinity, returned to the dominion of the Romans, who continued as before their magistrates and generals throughout that country. St. German himself, as we shall see, was duke and governor in obedience to Rome. The Franks seem to have been the first who took regular possession of Auxerre and the provinces around it, and in process of time it was conceded to the king of the Burgundians, the comparative leniency of whose government is well

known. But there was another cause not less effectual in diminishing the pernicious effects of the invasion, and which ought not to be overlooked.

The ascendancy of moral and intellectual endowments is so great, that when two hostile powers are brought into contact for any length of time, physical strength almost invariably yields in some measure to the sway of mental superiority. The Goths became a different people after they had taken possession of Gaul. The court of Toulouse rivalled that of Ravenna in the protection of literature and arts, and in the elegance of its forms. "The odious name of conquerors," says Gibbon again, "was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans ; and the barbarians of Gaul repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies ; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies. Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol." The south of France moreover it must be remembered, continued long in the possession of the Romans. It comprehended what was called Septimania, or the Seven Provinces, of which Arles was the seat of Government. There the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had his residence. The vicinity of this strong-hold of

old Roman civilization and splendour tended not a little to soften the barbarians throughout the land.

As a general fact, the invasion of the barbarians produced an undoubted decay in the cultivation of letters, and Sidonius Apollinaris¹ deploras, in his letters many years after, the neglect into which the schools of learning were falling. Without stopping to observe that the attainments of St. German himself would not be affected by this circumstance, since his education must have been completed many years before the invasion, the expressions of Sidonius are to be understood with great limitations. There were many like himself who had enjoyed all the advantages of a liberal education, Faustus of Riez,² Claudian Mamertus, Lupus, Constantius, Probus, and many others. The study of classical literature was still the great resource of the higher classes, and very frequently the disturbance of the times instead of diverting men from intellectual pleasures, was the occasion of their popularity. Ferreolus and Apollinaris, two distinguished persons, who had retired from public life on account of the impossibility of adapting high principles to the proceedings of state affairs, would thus naturally consider their libraries, as one of the chief ornaments and resources of their magnificent seats, where the danger of indulging in political conversations would be compensated by the freedom with which literary characters were canvassed. Not only all the writings of antiquity which have come to our knowledge were familiar to persons of education, but authors are alluded to by them which are totally unknown to us. Moreover schools had been established in Gaul so early as Tiberius's reign ; the study of the

¹ B. II. Lett. x. p. 172.

² Sidon. Ep. iv. I. p. 318. See also Anquetil, tom. I. p. 221.

sciences had been encouraged by several edicts from successive Emperors ; and by degrees that country had become the seat of learning and talent. The author of St. German's life mentions his attendance at the *Auditoria Gallicana*, or Gallic schools, and we learn from St. Jerome that at the same time the liberal arts were in the most flourishing condition in Gaul. The principal universities (for such they seem to have been) were at Treves, Bordeaux, Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great towns. Their importance may be estimated by the attention paid to them by the government. Repeated edicts were issued for their advantage. An extract from that of Gratian in the year 376, only two years before St. German's birth, is too interesting to be omitted.

“Gratian Augustus to Antony, Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul.

“In the great cities, which belong to the district committed to your¹ Magnificence, and which are distinguished for professors of learning, the most accomplished must preside at the education of the youth ; whether teachers of rhetoric or grammar in the Grecian and Roman languages. The orators² are to receive from the treasury the salary of twenty four measures ; and the Greek and Latin grammarians, according to custom, may be content with twelve measures. In order also that those cities, which claim metropolitan privileges, may have the choice of professors, (inasmuch as each town may not be enabled to pay sufficiently for masters and instructors,) we intend to add something for the advantage of Treves ; and enjoin that thirty measures

¹ The titles bestowed upon the various officers of the Empire was a point of great nicety, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

² The orators here are the same as the professors of rhetoric.

be granted to the professor of rhetoric, twenty to the Latin, and twelve to the Greek, master of grammar."

It is no contradiction to what has been said, that the general taste had very much degenerated since the Augustan age. The fact indeed cannot be denied, though opinion as to its extent and application, may vary according to the prejudices of individuals. But the taste of an age is not a certain criterion of the condition of learning and science. It sometimes happens that the greatest diffusion of knowledge is not accompanied with an equal degree of judgment and refinement. But whatever symptoms of decay may have been perceptible in the public schools of Western Europe, they were more than counterbalanced by the ardour and industry which was bestowed upon theological studies. And it is very probable that the true cause of those complaints to which Sidonius Apollinaris gave vent concerning the neglect of learning, arose more from the distaste of Pagan literature which the institution of Christianity produced, than from the immediate influence of the barbarians. Do what they would, to use a familiar expression, the greatest votaries of classical pursuits, were finally compelled to follow the tide of opinion, or rather were themselves alienated from a subject which corresponded so imperfectly with the new sympathies of their nature. The author just quoted, so skilled in poetical art, so successful in elegant composition, himself grew weary of his former occupations, and devoted the latter years of his life to the deeper studies of a Christian Bishop. Claudian Mamertus, a man of considerable genius, was famous for his philosophical attainments, yet to him was the Church indebted for very different services in Christian doctrine, and the introduction of a more perfect system

of psalmody and public worship.¹ In fact the whole energy of Europe was concentrated upon one object: the new Faith which had lately taken possession of the nations and brought at last the imperial power into its obedience. Gaul was not behind other countries in giving evidence of the zeal which had been kindled. Christian literature became the general subject of interest. Commentaries on the sacred scriptures, treatises on ecclesiastical offices, practical exhortations, expositions of orthodox doctrine, occupied the attention of all. Foremost stood the monks of Lerins, in their labours for the truth. Lerins was an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus had founded a monastery after the example of Cassian, and Cassian had lately brought over from Egypt the monastic system and established it at St. Victor in Marseilles. These two settlements proved the seat of religious and intellectual activity. Many of the eminent writers of the time were there brought up. Besides the two distinguished founders just mentioned, Vincentius surnamed *Lirinensis*, St. Hilary, St. Lupus, Faustus, and others, had been disciplined by the rule of Lerins. These were contemporaries of St. German, and in all probability well acquainted with him; two we have positive evidence of having been his friends, St. Hilary of Arles, and St. Lupus of Troyes. But there is a peculiar circumstance connected with these monastic houses, which tended greatly to promote religious studies in Gaul. This was, as is well known, the contest which had been awakened throughout Christendom between the sectaries of Pelagius and the Church. No country took a more ardent part in the struggle than Gaul, and no particular spot centered in itself so much controversial warmth as

¹ See Sidon. Ep. iv. II.

Lerins. Times of religious controversy are probably the most conspicuous for the energetic display of the moral and intellectual faculties. Discussions on abstract questions of philosophy, or even on subjects of political interest do not always avail to rouse the feelings of mankind in general. One country, one city, one school, often absorbs all the sympathy which they excite. But when religion and the interests of the soul, are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions re-act upon opinions ; the defence of truth or error, stirs up the moral powers and leads men on to deeds of vigour, the character of which depends on the principle which first gave birth to them ; again the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations. This was remarkably exemplified in the age of St. German. Theology was beginning to assume that systematic shape which it maintained and developed during successive ages. The attacks of heretics directed against every part of orthodox doctrine, at one time impugning the articles of faith, at another the canons of discipline and order, had exercised the arms of the Catholics. They had learnt by encountering so many various sects, the analogy of the Faith, and at the same time the connexion of error. Hence they were enabled to dig more deeply round the foundations of Christianity, and to anticipate the introduction of false teaching, by advancing to the abstruse and ultimate principles of all religion.

CHAPTER II.

St. German's Youth.

ST. GERMAN was born at Auxerre in the Diocese of the Archbishop of Sens, probably about the year 378. Gratian was Emperor of the West, and Valens of the East. The following year Theodosius the Great came to the throne of Constantinople.¹

Little is known of his early years. Constantius, his original biographer, informs us that his parents were of noble rank. Their names were Rusticus and Germanilla, and long after their death their memory was preserved at Auxerre, where German had erected a chapel over their remains.² There is no authority however for considering them in the light of canonized Saints. It is certain they attended carefully to the education of their son ; and from the silence of ancient writers, one might infer he was an only son. This however is not necessary to account for the excellence of his education ; it never was a feature of the Roman character to neglect the education of the youth ; and those of noble birth were in the fourth and fifth centuries as careful on this subject as they might have been in Cicero's time. Consequently German was instructed in the seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. The progress he made in them was proportioned to the abilities and judgment with which nature had endued him. To enter profoundly into the study of any, or

¹ Art de Vérifier les Dates. tom. I. p. 396. Anquetil. tom. I. p. 216.

² Hericus de Mir. ch. II. 19.

to arrive at equal information in all, was not the object of this preparatory course, or, as Eusebius calls it, *encyclic* instruction.¹ Exclusive attention to any particular branch of learning, was reserved for a subsequent period, when the youth were sent to the Universities, which, as we have seen, were in a very flourishing condition at this time. Law was that which was marked out for German. The knowledge and even profession of the Law, was almost necessary for the young pretenders to dignities and offices. It does not appear to have incapacitated them from bearing arms, and the two professions were not unfrequently united in the same person.² But it was the Career of the Pleader which was emphatically called the "Nursery of Honours."³ "Hardly, says a contemporary writer, were the suits of the barrister at an end, than his titles and dignities began."⁴ We cannot be surprised at this, when we remember the important part which eloquence held in the Roman constitution. The corruption again of manners would afford a larger scope for the talents of the Pleader, than is possible in a well regulated state; and though the public acuteness and discernment would naturally progress as the art became more refined, yet would there be numerous occasions where the wit of one man might divert the minds of the judges into the channel he wished. Full proof of this fact is to be found in the records of the age.⁵

What danger however was involved in the state of life to which German was destined, he would have met

¹ Τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδεία Book vi. ch. 2. see Valesius's learned note.

² See Sidon Apoll. Lib. xi. B. i. p. 58, and his Life.

³ "Seminarium dignitatum," Nov. Theod. xxxiv.

⁴ Sid. Apoll. B. i. Lett. xi. p. 60.

⁵ See Sid. Ap. B. ii. Lett. v. and B. ii. Lett. vii.

with considerable advantage. He was a Christian, and his parents were Christians. He lived in a place adorned by holy Bishops, from whom all that spiritual care, which parents are insufficient to bestow, was to be expected. The Sacraments to which laymen are admitted would have been early offered to him, though we have no direct intimation of it. For it was considered so important a neglect in Novatian, that after the Baptism he received on the bed of sickness, which the ancients called Clinical baptism, he had not sought for confirmation at the hands of the Bishop,¹ that Pope Cornelius doubted whether he had been partaker of the Holy Ghost ; and it was made the ground of a serious opposition to his admission into the Priesthood. But we do not find that objection was raised against German at a subsequent period when elevated to the Bishopric, on the score of any such omission. Nor would he have been deprived of that Christian instruction, which the catechetical schools of the primitive Church afforded. A part so essential of ecclesiastical discipline, must have held at Auxerre as in the rest of Christendom, the place which was due to it. The five Bishops who have governed the Church of Auxerre before St. German's accession, have all been honoured by posterity as Saints. And we may safely infer that the flock which they tended, possessed all the spiritual advantages which the Church can furnish.

It was under these circumstances that German went to Rome to complete his education and enter into public life. Rome was at that time, what Paris was in the middle ages, the University of Universities, or, as it was called, the "Home of jurisprudence, and the school

¹ Ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ κλίνη περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. Euseb. B. vi. 43 ch.

of letters.”¹ In the thirteenth century an illustrious Italian was known to seek for knowledge in France ; but in the fourth, the native of Gaul repaired to Rome in order to give the last finish to his studies.² Thither flocked from all quarters of the empire numbers of students, the occupations of whom attracted the special notice of Government. They were obliged to enter their names in the registers, to present testimonials of their birth-place and quality, and to declare what studies they intended to follow. Lodgings were assigned to them, and officers, called *Censuales*, were appointed to make an inspection into their lives, and to see that they avoided clubs or associations, and attendance on public sports and entertainments. If any were found faulty, they were to be punished, and sent away home. But none were permitted to stay at Rome after twenty, lest the splendour and vanities of the city should tempt them to forsake the service of their country.³ Besides a large number of private teachers, there were public professors appointed, who had their schools in the area of the Capitol. Notwithstanding this discipline, among the great temptations which Rome presented, German would naturally require the antidote of early habits of restraint, and experience the benefit of those precepts which he had learnt of his parents and Bishop. His character indeed had not as yet the mark of deep holiness ; rather it appeared of an unformed kind ; like many of his own age, he would seek to enjoy life, and yet shrink from transgressing the dictates of conscience. But where pleasure is constantly before the eyes, the

¹ *Sid. Ap. B. i. Litt. 6. p. 30.*

² See *Villemain. Littérature, on Dante.*

³ See *Stillingfleet's Origines. p. 215. Ed. 1840.*—See also a letter of St. Jerome to Rusticus.

conscience may soon lose its discernment, unless directed by special circumstances. German's sojourn at Rome has been left in obscurity by his biographers, and we might fear for the consequences of his residence in so corrupt a city.¹ Yet nothing has been transmitted which could throw any blame upon his morals or general character, except what might be involved in carelessness with regard to religious duties, and fondness for juvenile sports. Still such were the temptations which especially then surrounded the Christian in Rome, and in every large city of the empire, that public amusements, which are never without their dangers, were poison in themselves to those who joined in them. The majority of Christians nevertheless did indulge in them, and the best that can be said of this practice is, that the intention might be innocent at first. "Behold, says Salvian, innumerable thousands of Christians resort daily to the impure representations of the Theatres." The theatres and games were but the continuance of the old Pagan custom aggravated by the depravity of imperial manners, and no baptized person, says the same author, could attend them without offering plain violence to the oath of his initiation. Any one may easily convince himself of this fact by the numerous accounts left by ancient Christian authors, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Tertullian and Salvian. So great however was the force of example, that the circus and theatres were crowded by those who might have been joining in the solemn services of the Church. "If it should happen, as it does indeed frequently, that the same day an ecclesi-

¹ St. Jerome in his early years, not long before, had experienced the dangers of Rome, and was haunted ever after with the painful recollection of them. Vid. Fleury, Lib. xvii. § 3.—See also the interesting poem of Chateaubriand: *Les Martyrs*.

astical festival be observed and public games announced, I ask all candid persons which place attracts the most Christians, the stalls of the theatre, or the House of God?—Nay, if the day of the Funeral games (Feralia Ludicra) occur at the same time as a feast of the Church, not only do they who call themselves Christians not come to Church, but if any unawares should have come, and hear suddenly that the games are going on while they are in Church, immediately they take their departure.”¹

However it is remarkable how guarded the expressions are which afford any clue to his life previous to his conversion. “The austerities of his future years, we are told, were sufficient to efface his past errors, *if he had committed any*, and render him who *perhaps* had been exposed to sin, the pattern of virtue.”² This deserves particular consideration; for whereas on one hand, much instruction is to be gained from the history of persons who have lived long under the influence of Satan and the world, and afterwards have been turned to God, and passed the latter part of their lives in penitence and deeds of amendment; so on the other it is useful to remark that uncommon religious fervour in later years, need not be introduced by a youth of dissipation and vice, as the proverbial saying might seem to imply: “The greater the sinner, the greater the Saint.” If this popular phrase can bear any good sense, it must be taken to mean that those who have been great sinners, must double their endeavours after holiness, in order to reach the level of the just and make amends for past transgressions. In early times it was a source of lasting bitterness to have sullied the white garments

¹ Salvian p. p. 127, 131, 133. Ed. Baluzii.

² Constantius C. ii. § 12.

of baptism, though the rigours of penance had restored the sinner to God's favour.

However if students were obliged to return to their countries at the age of twenty, German must have left Rome before any durable impression could be made on his disposition. About this time he entered upon the public duties of his profession, probably in his own country, Gaul, and distinguished himself in an especial manner before the tribunals of the Prefect. He accordingly did not wait long to lay aside the Toga, (which was the name for the Lawyer's habit, and from which the whole class were called *Togati*;) and he was soon invested with the insignia of an administrative charge. It is uncertain what the first office was to which he was promoted. A later writer says he was Censor,¹ but his authority is insufficient. Soon however he rose to one of the highest dignities in the Empire; he was appointed Duke and Governor of the Provinces.

Not to mention the numerous subdivisions of offices, there were three distinct gradations in the government of the provinces represented by the Prefect, the Governor, and the Magistrate. The first had the administration of an entire province, the second that of a part only, the third the superintendence of a city or small district. In the last persecution which preceded the establishment of Christianity, the edict of Maximin, the Emperor, had been in the first place addressed to the Prefect; then it was the part of the Prefect, to transmit its contents to the governors of the provinces² who in their turn were enjoined to communicate the imperial orders to the various magistrates of parti-

¹ Hericus.

² οἱ κατ' ἔθνος ἡγούμενοι, or οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίας.—Euseb. Lib. ix. ch. i.

cular places.¹ It was to the second of these stations that German was raised; the importance of it was great, for he appears to have had the government of the Armorican and Nervican Districts, which comprehended what was called at that time the first and second Aquitain, the province of Sens, and the second and third Lugdunensis, a tract of land which extended nearly from the banks of the Rhine, to the shores of the Atlantic. The title of Duke which was attached to his office,² had lost its etymological sense of a charge only military, and was identical with that of governor to all appearance, although naturally he would have commanded the service of the troops. Superior to him in the provinces, were the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul, and the vice-prefect or Vicarius of Gaul, strictly so called. The whole of the Roman Empire was divided into four Prefectures, the East, Illyria, Italy and Gaul. The Prefecture of Gaul included Britain, Spain and Gaul. Consequently the Prefect had a power equal almost to that of the sovereign. His residence was first at Treves, but during the episcopate of German, it was fixed at Arles in the south of France. Under him were three Vicarii,³ whose authority must have been little inferior to that of the Prefect himself; there was one in each of the three great divisions, Britain, Spain, and Gaul. They must have been in fact the great check upon the Prefect's power, for they were not properly his ministers, but

¹ λογισταί, στρατηγοί and praepositi.

² Thus in Euseb. ix. 4. mention is made of a στρατοπεδάρχης (different from the στρατηγός or magistrate) ὁ Δούκας (Duke) Ῥωμαίων προσπαγορεύουσιν, and the Codex Theod. says: "Ducis et Praesidis simul officio quandoque idem functus." "Idem Dux et Corrector Provinciarum. Notitia Dignitatum."

³ See Sirmondus, Note I. to Litt. 2. B. I. Sidonius.

were appointed by the Emperor, and their office was accordingly considered *sacred*,¹ like that of their superior. Next to these came the Dukes or Governors of the provinces, to the number of twelve in the west, one of whom was German. Before he reached this high post, he had married Eustachia, a lady eminent for her birth and wealth, as well as for her good qualities; nothing is known concerning her, except that subsequently when German was ordained, she changed the character of wife, for that of his spiritual sister.

In all these circumstances of St. German's secular career, it would seem that he had been providentially prepared for the ecclesiastical dignity he was afterwards to hold. By the study of eloquence, which his early profession required, he had learnt the art of communicating his thoughts freely to any assembly of men, an acquisition which proved valuable in the exercise of his episcopal duties; for though on occasions, or even throughout his future life, he may have been supernaturally guided by the Holy Spirit in his intercourse with others, yet it is impossible to say how far what we call natural instruments, are rendered subservient to the ends of God, or whether He ever dispenses with them, or whether there is not an antecedent absurdity, involved in any of those distinctions, which are founded on man's short sighted inductions, the whole theory of human ideas being of a nature so inconceivable. Again, German's acquaintance with jurisprudence, was of the greatest importance to his pastoral office, and enabled him to meet those numerous legal emergencies which are common enough now, but in the fifth century engrossed, in a special manner, the attention of the Bishop. "The Bishop, says a modern

¹ *Sacrâ vice.*

historian,¹ was become in each town the natural head of the people, and in fact the mayor. His election and the interest it awakened were the great events of the city. It was chiefly by means of the Clergy that the Roman laws and customs were preserved in the towns, from which they were afterwards drawn for the general legislature of the state." It were easy to object against this consideration, that the career of the law was very generally adopted, as has been observed, and that if German was called from a secular profession to a religious office, it is not necessary to seek for a providential intervention to account for the advantages just mentioned. Two thirds of the laity, it might be said, were skilled in oratory and jurisprudence, and it would be more extraordinary that German should be ignorant with regard to them than the reverse. Again it may be objected, that transitions from a secular life to the ecclesiastical ministry were almost an every day's occurrence. The fact is not denied ; and since the invasion of the Goths, they had become still more frequent. "If there is no strength in the republic, said an author of the same age,² no protection ; if the Emperor's supplies are at an end, the nobility have resolved either to abandon their country or to assume the Tonsure," which was the mark of ecclesiastical profession. But after all, the dictates of gratitude towards the moral Governor of the world may have their foundation in the reality of things, though the events which are the immediate occasion, have in them apparently nothing extraordinary or contrary to the expectations of men. Effects are contained in causes, and effects virtually imply causes ; if effects are good, on the sup-

¹ Guizot. *Essais*. Ed. Charpentier, p. 39.

² Sidon Apoll. B. II. Lett. I.

position of a benevolent Author of all things, the causes must not only be good, but providential. In strict truth those occurrences which are most common, are as miraculous and providential as those which appear strange to our apprehensions. How can our conceptions grasp the real nature of any thing ? How can we understand the relations, the causes, the ends, the means, which constitute the reality of things ? Happy coincidences are but the instrument of awakening our perceptions of God's righteous government, they are not the first link of a wise chain of circumstances. Still they are the just ground of gratitude to God, since they both involve the eternal causes of things, and are the development of the excellent and harmonious designs of Him who is the Fountain of all wisdom and goodness.

CHAPTER III.

The Church of Auxerre.

ONE of the districts of German's department was Auxerre. And there he resided. At the time he held the office of Governor, St. Amator was bishop of the town. Amator was the fifth bishop since an episcopal See had been founded there at the introduction of Christianity into that part of Gaul.

St. Peregrine, in the middle of the third century, was sent by Pope Sixtus the second, at the request of a few Christians at Auxerre ; and preached the gospel to the Pagans who formed the bulk of the population. He built a small Church at one of the gates of the town, called the Gate of the Baths, because it was near the river Yonne where Baths were erected. This

was probably the time when seven Bishops were sent through Gaul in the Decian persecution, who accomplished the conversion of that nation, although a great number of Pagans remained till a very late period.¹ Some provinces however had Christian Churches long before ; those of Marseilles, Lyons, Vienne, were flourishing in the time of Domitian, as Irenæus shows. St. Peregrine, after he had accomplished his Apostolic task at Auxerre, removed to other pagan districts, and finally obtained the palm of martyrdom at Baugy in Burgundy, during a persecution which was raised against the Christians. We shall again have occasion to revert to this Saint, and the circumstances of his life. His memory is honoured on the 16th of May. St. Marcellianus was his successor in the Episcopate, and after him St. Valerian, who was present at the Councils of Sardica and Cologne, in the years 347, and 349. At his death in 366, St. Eladius governed the Church of Auxerre, and was succeeded by St. Amator in 388, who, as has been observed, was Bishop, while German was Governor.

This illustrious person, who holds such a conspicuous part in the history of German, was the only son of Proclides, and his wife Ursiciola.² His father constrained him to marry Martha, a native of Langres, in

¹ The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* make a singular mistake in placing the persecution of Domitian in the third century. It was the persecution of Decius.

See Anquetil. *France*, tom. i. p. 170. Some say that nine Missionaries were sent by the Apostolic See into Gaul. Saturninus to Toulouse ; Trophimus to Arles ; Paul to Narbonne ; Stremonius to Clermont ; Martial to Limoges ; Gratian to Tours ; Peregrine to Auxerre ; Savinian to Sens ; Dionysius to Paris. See Tillemont, tom. iv. *Mém.* 480.

² Isiciola in *Gall. Chr.* but Ursiciola in Tillemont.

Champagne, in order to leave the riches of the family to natural heirs. St. Valerian, who was then Bishop, was desired to give the nuptial blessing. However, Amator, who had profited by the spiritual counsels of the Bishop, after the ceremony, determined to live a life of virginity, and accordingly communicated his intention to Martha, who adopted a similar resolution. After the death of his father, not content with this secret vow, he applied to St. Eladius, the successor of St. Valerian, and made public profession of continence, on which occasion he received the Tonsure and was ordained Deacon, while Martha was enlisted among the women who consecrated themselves to God. They did not however part from each other, and in this imitated the example of St. Paulinus and St. Therasia, and many others.¹ It was not unlikely that envy should take occasion of this circumstance ; and in fact, after Amator became Bishop, Licinius, his Archdeacon, with others, endeavoured to attack his character ; but God took upon Himself the part of vindicating his innocence, and punished severely his accusers, who had carried

¹ According to Stephanus, the African, in the sixth century, there was ecclesiastical sanction for the practice of the minor Clergy living in the same house with their wives, and partaking of the same table. But when they attained to a superior order, it was not lawful ; whether Priests came under this limitation does not appear. P. 55. Boll. ad Mai. I. Tillemont, however, does not attach much credit to this author. See notes at the end of tom. xv. Eccl. Mém.

In Constantius we find a Presbyter living in the same house with his wife, Senator and Nectariola.

St. Aug. Cons. Evang. lib. ii. “Hoc enim exemplo (Mariæ et Joseph) magnificè insinuat^r fidelibus conjugatis etiam, servatâ pari consensu continentîâ, posse permanere vocarique conjugium, non permixto corporis sensu, sed custodito mentis affectu.

their profane curiosity so far as to penetrate into his bed-chamber. Shortly after Martha died, and was buried at the Mons Autricus, which was the great Cemetery in the vicinity of Auxerre, where the three Bishops, Marcellianus, Valerian, and Eladius, were likewise buried.

The author of *Amator's* life,¹ who lived in the sixth century, and had opportunity to obtain correct information concerning him, relates, that while Amator was still Deacon, a lady of rank, called Palladia, entered the Church on Easter-day dressed in a costly manner. She had been married to a rich Pagan called Heraclius, of *Ædua* or *Autun*, and had subsequently turned Christian, though her husband remained a heathen. "When the sacrifice was ended,"² the author continues, "and she had received the holy Eucharist in bread, she advanced towards Amator, who, as Deacon, was appointed to administer the cup to the faithful as the confirmation of the communion." But he rejected her and bid her depart, because she was splendidly dressed, and had not withheld intercourse with her husband to prepare for so solemn a feast. Pricked to the heart at this public reproof, she went home and related to her husband what had happened, and urged him to take vengeance on the Deacon. While they were designing the death of Amator, they both fell dangerously ill. At last, conscious of the Divine wrath, they set off in a carriage, (for they were too exhausted

¹ Stephanus, an African priest, whose work is found in the *Boll. ad Mai.* i. p. 58.

² *Perfecto itaque sacrificio, dum Eucharistiæ libamina Sanguinis quoque haustu confirmare voluisset, accessit ad beatissimum Amatorem, tunc Diaconum, qui sacratissimum Calicem in vitam æternam populis porrigebat.*

to walk) and when they found the Deacon, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated his pardon for the bad purposes they had entertained. Amator readily complied, and having sent for a Priest, he had Heraclius, the lady's husband, baptized, and then with oil that he himself had blessed, anointed them, calling on the name of the Lord, and healed them.

Amator succeeded to Eladius in 388, on Monday, the 27th of March, and governed the Diocese of Auxerre for thirty years, during which he effected a great reformation by his preaching, and performed a number of miracles. There was still much Paganism in that part of Gaul, notwithstanding the efforts of the preceding Bishops; and we must not consider Amator in his position when first he entered on his Episcopal duties, in the same light with subsequent Bishops, or again with Prelates of our own time. Power was still in the hands of the heathen, though the seat of the empire had declared for Christianity, and probably multitudes preferred the gorgeous display of Pagan rites, to the more simple ceremonies of Christians. Accordingly it was with difficulty that ground was obtained for building Churches,¹ the number of which was very small. However as the zeal of Amator converted many of the Gentiles, it became necessary to obtain space for religious worship. He therefore applied to a wealthy citizen named Ruptilius, for a large house which he possessed within the town. Ruptilius at first refused, but having fallen sick, he was compelled to resign it. Amator then turned it into a Church, and dedicated it on the 3rd of October. This is the Church which was afterwards celebrated as that of St. Stephen, and stood where the present Cathedral is situated. We shall see

¹ See Steph. Amat. Vita and Hericus Mirac. B. i. ch. 3.

that St. German was afterwards ordained Priest and elected Bishop in the same, and that Amator there breathed his last, surrounded by his flock. In 600, Didier, Bishop of the place, enlarged it, and dedicated it afresh on the 19th of April.¹ And in 1215, William, likewise Bishop of Auxerre, had it pulled down and restored on a more magnificent scale. While Amator was building, a large sum of money was found in the house, which he sent to Ruptilins, the former owner ; but it was refused by him, and returned for the benefit of the poor and the repairs of the Church.

Among the miracles which are related of St. Amator, he is said to have put to flight the evil spirits which occupied the public burial place on the Mons Autrieus ; to have restored sight to the blind, the use of their limbs to the cripple and paralytic, nay, even life to the dead ; and to have stopped a conflagration which threatened to reduce the city to ashes.² Without stopping to examine the evidence on which these accounts rest, and to consider the degree of authority due to Stephen the African, who is the chief witness to them, it may be observed that there is no antecedent improbability in them, since we shall find that St. German performed greater and more miracles some time after, and that the testimony which has handed them down, is allowed by learned critics to be of the most authentic and trustworthy nature.

During Amator's episcopate took place the invasion of the Goths, to which allusion has already been made. There is no distinct relation of the measure in which Auxerre suffered during the invasion, except what is involved in the vague expressions of St. Jerome and

¹ See Gallia Christ. 262. and Tillemont, t. xv.

² See Heric. de Mir. Tillemont, tom. xv.

Orosius. However one victim of the barbarian's fury, as is supposed, a native of that city, and a child, has been preserved in the memory of posterity among the Acts of martyrs.¹ When the head of St. Just, (for so he was called,) was brought to his mother who resided at Auxerre, the house in which it was bestowed, was seen to spread forth a bright light. St. Amator having perceived it as he rose up to say his nightly office, inquired the cause of it, and upon learning what had happened, returned thanks to God for the honour of this martyrdom during his episcopate; after which he gave orders for a public procession, and deposited the head of St. Just, in the place destined for its sepulture. This account, if it may not with more probability be referred to the persecution of Maximian a century before, according to the poetical narrative found among Bede's works, seems to prove that the effects of the invasion were felt at least in the neighbourhood of Auxerre, though there is no positive account of any siege of that town. At a later period it is certain that the barbarians occupied the place, for there was an interval of ten years, during which the succession of the Bishops was suspended by the Goths.² But for the details of the first invasions between 406 and 409, we can only draw inferences. St. Jerome says,³ "Innumerable and savage nations have occupied *the whole of Gaul. Whatever is situated between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine*, is laid waste by the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni and Pannonians.—Mayence, that noble city, has been taken

¹ Vid. Tillemont, tom. xv.

² See Hericus Prologue to the De Miracul. 2.

³ Ep. cxxiii. ad Ageruchiam. Ed. Venet. tom. i. 914.

and sacked, and thousands have perished in her Church. Worms, after a long siege, has been utterly destroyed. The powerful towns of Rheims, Amiens and Arras, have been the prey of their fury. Terouenne, Tournay, Spire, and Strasburg, are converted into German provinces. Aquitain, Novempopulania, Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, with the exception of very few towns, have been entirely pillaged, &c." There is reason to think Auxerre would be included in the general name of Lugdunensis, the limits of which are so imperfectly defined. And the course of the barbarians from Rheims to Toulouse, where they ultimately settled, would naturally be directed through the Diocese which Amator governed.

Such was the condition of the Church in which German was born, the Bishop whose influence balanced his own, and the succession which he was afterwards to take up.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Amator and St. German.

LIKE all the great men in Gaul, German had his country seat. It was not far from Auxerre; and thither he frequently retired, to indulge in the amusement of hunting. Hunting at all times has been a favourite sport of the rich, and was then as popular with the Romans as with the Goths, to whose nature and habits it was especially congenial.¹ The duties of his office, often obliged him to visit remote districts;

¹ See Sidon. Apoll. Lett. 3. B. iii. Lett. 2. B. i. Lett. 9. B. iv. Lett. 21. B. iv. Lett. 8. B. v.

but he was at his native place, when an incident, apparently trivial, connected with this same sport, was the instrument in God's hands, of giving an entire change to his life.

In the middle of the city, we are told, there was a large pear tree, an object of reverence to the inhabitants, both for its antiquity and its size. Ostentation prompted German to bring the spoils of the chase to the town, and hang them upon the favourite tree. This repeated practice gave offence to Amator. Some superstition was allied in the minds of the Pagans with the skulls of the animals, which German exposed in the public place, and which they called *Oscilla*.¹ The Christian profession of German, ought not to allow him, thought Amator, to foster the remains of heathenism, which his own efforts had tended so much to extirpate. It was an encouragement to the Pagans to continue those practises expressly denounced in Holy Scripture : "To sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, *under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good.*" (*Hosea* iv. 13.) He therefore presented himself before the civil Governor, and addressed him thus : "Cease, I entreat you, to indulge this empty jesting, for it is a stumbling block to Christians, and a satisfaction to Heathens. Such practices belong to the worship of idols, not to the pure religion of Christ." These admonitions, though often repeated, were lost upon German. Nor was it the power of an evil habit alone, which confirmed him in his disobedience ; Amator knew he was urged by a foolish feeling of vanity and worldly honour ; he there-

¹ See Const. Vit. Germ. Tillemont. xv. t. p. 8. Canons of St. Boniface.

fore desired him to cut down the tree itself, which gave occasion to the scandal ; but all was vain.

One day when German had retired to his country place, Amator took his opportunity, and had the tree cut down to the very roots and burnt. The skulls he ordered to be cast away without the city. When the Governor heard what he had done, he was filled with wrath, and thinking his dignity exposed, as well as his vanity offended, he so far forgot the nature of that religion, to whose blessed sacraments and graces he had been admitted,¹ that he threatened death to the author of the deed. During the heat of his indignation he set off for Auxerre, accompanied by a large body of men. He knew well that the inhabitants would rise up with one accord to defend their holy Bishop. The news of his intention however reached Amator before his arrival. Upon hearing which he exclaimed : “ No, it is not possible that so unworthy a man as myself, should bear witness with my blood to my Saviour.” Martyrdom indeed was not granted to him, though none was more able to suffer all things for Christ. Far otherwise did Almighty God dispose events. It was revealed to the Bishop that his departure from this life was at hand, but that the very man who persecuted him would shortly succeed him in the See of Auxerre. Instigated by this divine admonition, he did not wait for German’s arrival, but set off to *Ædna* or *Augustodunum*, now called *Autun*, to have an interview with *Julius* the Prefect of Gaul,² who was then making a

¹ “ *Ritu atque munere insignitus.*” Const. Tillemont, tom. xv. p. 8.

² The Prefect of Gaul, in a public edict this year, 418, is called *Agricola*, we must therefore either suppose him to have been called by both names, as was common, or that one of the two

transitory sojourn in that city, his usual residence being Arles.

St. Simplicius was then Bishop of Autun. Second of the name, he was one of that bright cluster of holy prelates which then adorned the land, and did justice, says our authority, to his auspicious name by his singleness of heart and childlike spirit. Hearing of Amator's approach, he went out to meet him with his clergy. The same respect was shown by the Prefect Julius, who, attended by a large suite, advanced to welcome him. After they had exchanged the usual salutations, Amator was led to the city with all the demonstrations of reverence, which his character and station commanded. Times have changed, and manners with them, and though genuine holiness must ever call forth the expression of the respect and love which it produces, yet the Saint does not meet with that reception now, which he did in the fifth century,—shall we say even from barbarians. But to adhere closely to the original testimony of these precious customs at the risk of repetition ; the following day, Amator expressed his wish to visit the Prefect at the Pretorium, as was called the abode of the supreme magistrate. Whereupon Julius hastened to meet him on his way, and with all the indefinable tokens of one who could distinguish the intrinsic dignity of the Christian priesthood, from the mere outward honours it possessed, he first guided the Bishop to his palace, and then humbly requested his blessing. After Amator had blessed him, he thus addressed him : “The Lord has informed me of my approaching end, and as there is no one fit to undertake had lately succeeded the other ; or again, that this Julius was not Prefect of all Gaul, but Vicarius of Gaul. See the Boll. note ad locum Constantii.

the superintendence of the Church but the most illustrious¹ German, I desire your eminence to allow me to confer the Tonsure on him. For such is the revelation which the Lord my God has deigned to communicate to me." The Prefect answered that German was indeed useful and even necessary to the republic, but since God had chosen him, he durst not oppose His commands, and therefore gave his consent.

No change could be made in the administration of Gaul without the Prefect's leave. Except the office of the Vicarius, all public charges were dependent upon his authority. German's was of this number, and he could not quit his post without commission from the supreme governor. This will explain what might seem strange in Amator's conduct. To influence German's mind and obtain his submission, he knew well was God's part; the ordinary methods of conciliation and intercourse were precluded by the hostile attempt just made; all in that quarter must be God's doing. His own department was to gain from the state what belonged to the state, and to prepare those subordinate means, without which, Providence does not interpose, but which yet diminish not from the divine nature of the interposition.

"My beloved sons, said Amator, to a large concourse of his own flock, whom he had assembled in the hall of his house on his return to Auxerre, listen to me with attention: what I have to communicate to you is of the utmost importance. By revelation from God I have learnt that the day of my departure from this world is at hand. I therefore exhort you all with one

¹ These epithets were not merely redundancies, as there was much nicety of etiquette concerning the titles of the different officers of State. See Gibbon, tom. iv.

mind, carefully to inquire after the fittest person to elect overseer of God's house." The multitude remained silent, no one could speak for amazement. The election of Bishops rested at that time very generally in the hands of the people;¹ the whole burden indeed usually devolved on the clergy, from the uncertainties of popular suffrage; still the privilege of electing belonged to the former, and they were as zealous in asserting it, as they were inefficient in exercising it. Amator, perceiving the silence of the people, proceeded forthwith to the Church. The multitude followed him. At the entrance he stopped, and bid them lay down their weapons and staves, adding, that they were about to enter the house of prayer, not the camp of the god of war. This was apparently directed to German and his party, whose rage had had time to abate, and who urged by the same feelings as the rest, had come to see the end of this astonishing scene. Accordingly they laid aside their arms, and entered the Church with the crowd. Amator having watched the opportunity when German entered, immediately gave orders to the Porters,² that is, the lowest members of the ecclesiastical order, to shut the doors of the Church, and fasten them closely. He then gathered the clergy round himself, with those nobles who were present, and proceeding

¹ Guizot France, *Léçon iii.*—See also Eusebius, *Lib. vi. ch. 43.* and Valesius, Note at the words, “ὕπο παντός τοῦ κληροῦ καὶ λαϊκῶν διακωλύμενος.”

² In Latin *Ostiarii*. This was the last grade of the Clergy, see Ducange *ad vocem*. Isidorus junior explains his functions in this manner. “To the porter belong the keys of the Church, in order that he may shut and open the temple of God, have the custody of every thing within and without, admit the faithful, and exclude the infidel and excommunicated.”

straightway to German, laid hold of him. Then he solemnly invoked the name of God, cut off his hair, stripped him of his secular robes, and clothed him in the habit of an ecclesiastic.¹ After this he ordained him Priest, and addressed him thus : "Labour you must, most beloved and revered brother, to preserve immaculate and entire the dignity which has been committed to you ; know, that at my death God has willed you should succeed to my office."

Scarcely had Amator retired from the Church, than he began to feel the symptoms of his final sickness. His zeal however continued the same. Though debilitated by fever, he ceased not to preach to his people, and perform the last duties of his office. One topic was ever foremost in his discourse : the succession of German to the Bishopric on his death, which was fast approaching. Unanimity in electing him he strongly pressed upon them ; nor were the inclinations of the multitude less desirous of the succession, as they showed by answering with one accord, "Amen." At the same time tears rushed from their eyes, and grief filled their hearts, at the prospect of the loss they were to sustain. This, Amator endeavoured to alleviate by the character he drew of his successor, as revealed to him by God. On Wednesday the 1st of May, 418, A. D. he began to experience the agonies of death. In the

¹ It seems to be agreed, that the Tonsure was not quite the same with that in the present Roman Church. A circle of hair was left, say some, to grow round the lower part of the head. St. Martin, by his opponents, was called "*Hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, crine deformem.*" Sulp. Sex. ch. vii. His editor refers to Concil. Tolet. iv. c. 40. and Isid. de Offi. iv. 4. Bingham lays needless stress upon what small distinction existed in different times.

midst of these he still continued to address words of consolation to all around, and to mitigate the general sorrow. "Surely, said he, these expressions of grief are ill-suited to your condition ; you are about to obtain a Bishop far better than me. What poor services I may have been able to bestow, he will greatly surpass, by contributing to your eternal advantage. I mean, not only in life, but even in death he will remain the blessing of your city." These words were understood by the inhabitants of Auxerre in later times, to be prophetic of the numerous miracles which were performed at the tomb of St. German. Then Amator requested he might be carried to the Church, intending to give up his spirit in the place where he had so often by day and by night, confessed the name of God. A great multitude accompanied him ; the clergy advanced first, and then followed the matrons. He had just time to be taken up to his pontifical throne, (which, probably, like in many Churches of the time, was placed at the extreme end of what we should now call the Chancel,)¹ before he breathed his last, at the third hour of the day, that is, about nine in the morning, according to our present reckoning, the hour appointed for the chief office of the Church, and that in which our blessed Lord is supposed to have been crucified. At the same time, says Constantius, our chief informer, a choir of Saints, to the wonder of all, was seen to descend, and amid hymns and praises, to carry up his spirit in the form of a dove to heaven. Many he adds, who had been present and lived in his own time, were ready to bear witness to the fact. Among these, says another writer before quoted, was Helena, a holy virgin famous for her virtues and mira-

¹ See Bingham's plan after Eusebius's Description.

cles, whose feast occurs on the 22nd of May.¹ His body after it had been washed, was conveyed to the same cemetery where Martha had been buried, and which was called, as we have seen, Mons Antricus or Mont-Artre. A circumstance which occurred some time after, contributed to render this spot still more famous, though it was already noted for the blessed remains it contained. But of this hereafter.

When the multitude who had accompanied the funeral procession were returning, they were met by a paralytic person borne on the shoulders of others. He had come from the province of Berri, which is at some distance from Auxerre, attracted by the fame of Amator's holiness, and with some hope of being healed by him. His infirmity had remained with him for thirty years. He appears to have been a man in affluence. His attendants, ignorant of the Bishop's death, inquired of the multitude concerning him, and learnt the nature of the procession they had seen. Thereupon the infirm man entreated that he might be allowed the use of the water, in which his body had been washed. German who had not yet resigned his office of Governor, though he had been ordained Priest,² struck with their faith, gave orders that the limbs of the paralytic man should be washed with the water. The command had scarcely been executed, when the sufferer recovered his strength and soundness.

It is also said, but the authority is less certain, that as the funeral procession was passing by the public gaol, the gates opened by miracle, the prisoners regained their liberty and joined in the train.

¹ Stephanus Africanus. 22nd May. Boll.

² "Tunc Presbyter;" subsequently he is called Magistrate.

Bede,¹ in his Martyrology, assigns the 6th of November, as the day of Amator's Deposition. Those of Usuard and the Latin writers, says Tillemont,² place his feast on the 1st of May, the day on which his body was solemnly translated, (and also apparently the day of his decease.)

In 870, says Hericus,⁵ who lived at that time, his remains were carried about, and the monks of St. German's monastery went in procession to request a relic of him. They obtained the fingers of the right hand, with which he had cut off German's hair, and carried them back to their own monastery, and deposited them in German's tomb. This meeting of the remains of two saints, so strangely connected with each other in life, was signalized by the miraculous cure of an infirm woman.

CHAPTER V.

German Bishop.

AFTER the death of Amator, there was but one voice in favour of the election of German in his place. The three distinct orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, including those who resided in the neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants of Auxerre, joined in demanding the performance of the Divine order so lately communicated through Amator. But German could not bring himself to accept an office, for which he deemed he had had so little preparation. By his former charge

¹ He says Augustoduno, but this is probably a mistake for Antissioduro.

² Tillemont, t. xv. p. 11.

³ Vide Supra.

in the administration of the state, he had been thrown into circumstances so very unfavourable to the exercise of religious duties, that he needs must unlearn much that he knew, over and above the acquirement of what was indispensable for the episcopal functions. When the empire was in the gift of armies or factions, and tyrants were continually changing, involving often an entire revolution in the government of the provinces ; when court intrigues, and all the pernicious arts of designing men, occupied the chief attention of the officers of the republic, that conscientiousness and singleness of heart which German felt were necessary in an ecclesiastical ruler, were exposed to dangers almost unavoidable. He therefore determined to refuse the election which he foresaw, and brought with him a party to support him. But all was in vain. He failed in commanding the wonted submission of the people ; and a regular opposition was raised against him, not only by the mass of the people,¹ but by the nobles also, and even the former abettors of his own cause. Forced at last to accept the Bishopric, he soon showed that he was more fit for the office than he had supposed, and that the direction of Providence was signally manifested in the circumstances of the event.

Vocations are not to be lightly esteemed, because there may appear an insufficiency in the means to fulfil them. Humanly speaking, nothing could be more unfit for the conversion of nations, than the instrumentality of the fishermen of Galilee. But they were ordered to take no thought about what they should say, that is, not to shrink from their task, from ignorance of the means of discharging it ; “For the Holy Ghost, it is added, shall teach you all things.” “It is impossible,

¹ *Bellum civile indicitur potestati. Const.*

says Tillemont,¹ to conceive any thing more astonishing than this vocation of St. German, so contrary, as it should seem, to the rules of the Church. But when He who is the Master of all rules speaks, it is our part to worship Him, and receive His orders with humble submission. It may be said that St. Britius, who at that time governed the Church of Tours, was still more unfit for the Bishopric than St. German, and yet God called him by the mouth of the very St. Martin, whom he had offended when Deacon and Priest, much more grievously than St. German had St. Amator. God purified St. Britius, by dreadful persecutions, and St. German, by austerities unheard of in Gaul, and which the power of grace alone can enable to undergo. These, he concludes, are fully established by the sincerity of Constantius his Biographer."

German's accession to the Bishopric of Auxerre, may be assigned with tolerable certainty, to the 7th of July 418, A. D. He was apparently elected, as distinguished from consecrated, immediately after St. Amator's death, as we have just seen, and therefore on the 1st of May. About a month before, Amator had first secured him to the ministry of the Church and ordained him Priest, according to all probability, *per saltum*, that is, without the preparatory degrees.² But the delays occasioned by his own diffidence, and the necessity of getting three Bishops to attend at his consecration protracted the ceremony of his induction to the month of July.

The reader may be desirous to know what were the leading circumstances of the fortunes of the Roman

¹ Mémoires Eccl. t. xv.

² See Bingh. 2 B. ii. ch. sec. 4, also Euseb. B. vi. 43.

Empire when this event took place. Honorius was still Emperor of the West. He had again recovered the possession of Gaul through his able General, Constantius. That country had been distressed by civil war for many years. Maximus,¹ in 388, had given the example of laying hold of the imperial crown without any other title than ambition. The murder of Gratian, the lawful Emperor, by which he had secured his usurpation, was punished however subsequently by Theodosius the Great, who conquered him at Aquileia and put him to death. After him Eugenius, the creature of Arbozart, who durst not proclaim himself Emperor because he was not a Roman citizen, assumed the purple in Gaul, and was likewise vanquished and beheaded by Theodosius about 394. In the third place shortly before the time which we are considering, Constantine, a common soldier, who had been saluted Emperor in Britain, had passed over into Gaul, taken possession of it, removed the imperial residence from Treves to Arles, and had engaged successfully with the barbarians, was at last subdued by the General of Honorius and murdered on his road to Rome. Other tyrants² succeeded him for a very short time in Gaul, but Constantius soon put them down, and restored the greater part of that country to Honorius, the son of Theodosius. Some provinces in the West were conceded to the Gothic king Wallia

During these changes Rome had been taken and sacked

¹ See Anquetil, tom. i. and *Annales Alfordii ad annos ejusdem sæculi*. Gibbon, tom. iv.

² Their character is described briefly by Sidonius in these words, “In Constantino inconstantiam, in Jovino facilitatem, in Gerontio perfidiam, singula in singulis, omnia in Dardano crimina simul exsecrabantur.” *Ep. ix. B. v. p. 32.*

by Alarie, the king of the Goths. This year, 418, Zozimus, the Pope, died, and was succeeded by Bonifacius. Zozimus himself had succeeded to Innocent, a pontiff remarkable for his opposition to the growing heresy of Pelagius. Two councils had been held in Innocent's time, about 416, against Pelagianism, one at Carthage, another at Milevum in Numidia, where St. Augustine of Hippo presided. Innocent had ratified the decrees of these councils, which had formally condemned the authors of the heresy. These circumstances are considered by the defenders of the Papal prerogative as decisive in favour of the claims of the Apostolic See; they occurred only two years before German's elevation. The next year Pelagius had made a public abjuration of his errors in a letter to Innocent, the contents of which are the best explanation of the dangers with which his doctrines threatened the Church.¹ Zozimus, the next Pope, had been imposed upon by Celestius, the companion of Pelagius, a circumstance which some divines have exaggerated into an imputation of indulgence towards heresy, while Alford, a divine of another school, maintains, with some reason, that Zozimus proscribed the Pelagian heresy at the very same time. His successor Bonifacius; the same year 418, engaged Honorius to write a public letter to the Pretorian Prefect, to extirpate Pelagianism and banish the supporters of it for ever. The sentence was to extend over all the empire. To add one more prominent fact to this brief sketch, we may observe that St. Jerome was still alive, as well as St. Augustine. St. Chrysostom had died a few years before in banishment. The writings of these three fathers, perhaps the most cele-

¹ Vid. Apud Alford. Ad An. 417.

brated in history, were doubtless the study of the new Bishop, next to the Holy Scriptures, which he appears to have searched forthwith with the greatest diligence.

We have seen that when St. Amator ordained German in the Church before all the people, he invested him with the religious habit, as his Biographer calls it, that is, the monastic dress. From this circumstance some have thought that he became an actual monk.¹ But this seems to be a mistake. There was no monastery then at Auxerre : St. German was the first to institute one at a future period.² Nor did he ever become monk himself, though he continued to wear the dress of that profession during the thirty years of his Episcopate. This was no uncommon practice. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had always worn the monastic habit. But the office of Bishop was kept distinct from the character of monk.³ By the outward appearance, a stranger might not discover whether a man was an ecclesiastic, a monk, or a penitent, as is shown by a question put by Sidonius Apollinaris to a friend. But at this time the governors of the Church were zealous in keeping the clerical body distinct from the *cœnobitic*, the more so, as there was a growing tendency in the Western Church to fill the ecclesiastical ranks with men taken from monasteries at the expense frequently of adequate preparation, and of the order which distinguished the degrees. Hence in some sharp letters of Zozimus and Celestine, the monks are emphatically denominated by the term of laymen, which

Among these, Alford, in his *Annals*.

² These points are satisfactorily explained in Boschius' *Comment*. Præv. ch. v. apud Bolland, 31 Jul.

³ Lib. iv. Ep. xxiv. p. 404.

indeed was fully applicable to them before St. Benedict's time.

The circumstances of German's elevation to the Bishopric of Auxerre are so striking, and, together with other instances somewhat similar, have given occasion to such discordant opinions, that it may not be out of place to compare one or two parallel accounts left to us by contemporary writers. It is unquestionably false to say with a modern writer, "that the election of Bishops had not the characteristics of a real institution, that it was destitute of rules, of permanent and legal forms, and abandoned to the chance of circumstances and passions."¹ It is perhaps nearer to the truth to say, that there existed a real standard of order, and a received body of apostolical canons, but that they were not as yet considered invariably obligatory, and were in some particulars often dispensed with in emergencies.² The history of St. Ambrose is well known. After the death of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, the people, the Clergy, and the Bishops of the Province, had met in the cathedral to elect a successor. The confusion was very great, and the divisions of the Orthodox and the Arians impeded the decision. A violent tumult ensued, when Ambrose, the civil governor of Milan, arrived. He was not much above thirty years old. Having learnt the cause of the disturbance, he entered the cathedral, and addressed the people in order to pacify them. His appearance and manner pleased the multitude, and it is reported that a child screamed out in the Church, "Ambrose is Bishop."

¹ Guizot France, tom. i. Leçon 3.

² See Hallier. De Sacris electionibus et ordinationibus. P. ii. S. i. Ch. i.

The meeting was not dissolved before Ambrose was proclaimed Bishop with one consent.¹ What renders this election still more extraordinary than that of German is, that Ambrose was not yet a Christian, but only a Catechumen. He was then baptized, and eight days after consecrated.

Ambrose's election took place about fifty years before that of German. Sidonius Apollinaris relates a similar example which occurred about fifty years after. The Bishop of Bourges, in France, was dead, and the ardour of competitors and factions was so great, that the whole town was thrown into confusion.² Thereupon Sidonius, lately made Bishop himself of Clermont in Auvergne, and distinguished for his birth, wealth, eloquence and science, was requested by the inhabitants of Bourges to repair to their city to make choice of a successor for them. Sidonius took with him some other Bishops, and proceeded to Bourges. Having assembled the people and clergy, he pronounced a discourse to them in which he reviewed those classes of persons against whom objections might be raised. "A monk, he said, will be considered unequal to fulfil the double part of intercessor with God and civil magistrate ; and there are not wanting many among the people and clergy who entertain invidious prejudices against the whole order. Again, if I choose from the clergy, immediately jealousy and contempt will be excited. Should I decide for one invested with military offices and honours, what accusations of partiality to a profession through which I have myself passed !" He

¹ See Church of the Fathers. Hallier, P. ii. S. i. Ch. i. St. Paulin. Vita Ambrosii.

² Sid. Ap. B. vii. Lett. ix.

then proceeded to give the description of the person he thought fit to succeed to the Bishopric. He was a layman, he was even a soldier, he was married and had offspring ; but then he was a zealous friend of the Church, the defender of her rights, and he had built a temple to God at his own expense ; he was moreover of noble birth, in affluence, kind, charitable, mature in age and mind, and especially too modest to desire the sacred dignity, a circumstance which made him the more deserving. Such was Simplicius, who forthwith was consecrated Bishop of Bourges and Metropolitan of the Province.¹

Many other instances similar to these might be quoted, to show that German's election was not a solitary example. But after all, they were mere exceptions and irregularities, and indicative of that spirit of toleration and expansion with which the Church suffered deviations from her canons in cases of necessity. As well might it be said that there is no established form for Baptism, because in extreme emergencies the ministry of a layman is allowed to supply that of a clergyman, as that these exceptions prove the want of canonical rules in the ordinations of ecclesiastics. Different churches might have different customs on minor points, but in all essentials the consent was uniform in Christendom. It was embodied in what Pope Celestine calls the Decrees of the Fathers (*Decreta Patrum*,) and was appealed to as *the Ecclesiastical Custom*.²

Modern philosophy does not appear to have exercised all its ingenuity as yet upon the period which we are considering, otherwise we might expect some clever

¹ See other parallel cases in Guizot's France. Leçon 3.

² Ep. ii. § 3. apud Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 482.

theory to prove that a transition like that of German from a high civil magistracy to a clerical office, was the effect, not of divine intervention, or of any desire to promote the welfare of the Church, but of mere fear and the pressure of worldly circumstances. Constantine the tyrant would be cited to show that the easiest way to escape the vengeance of enemies was to assume the clerical coat.¹ The words of Sidonius, who in the perils of civil war observed that the nobility had resolved to seek their safety in the ecclesiastical state or in banishment, would be appealed to with confidence. And among those whom in fact fear and policy had driven into the clergy, the illustrious saints whose examples edified the whole Church, would be indiscriminately ranked. Attempts of this kind have been made to rob the City of God in patriarchal times of her blessed succession of witnesses. Nor would it be more extraordinary if the transition of German were attributed to the growing ascendancy of the barbarians, the changeableness of Court intrigues, or the worldly advantage to be derived from a station which engaged the esteem of the people while the civil authorities daily lost their influence. However the subsequent life of German is a sufficient answer to such intimations, were they made, as we shall see in the following chapter.

¹ Vid. *Annals Alford*, ad Annum, 410-11.

CHAPTER VI.

German's character and mode of Life.

IT is difficult to conceive any thing more surprising and sudden than the change which took place in German. St. Paul, whose conversion is the type of wonderful changes, yet was earnest, ascetic, strict from the very first.¹ He had always lived according to the straightest sect of his religion a Pharisee. But German had been surrounded with the luxury and comforts of the world, courted by all, accustomed to command not to serve, and lulled in the arms of domestic happiness. Like Jonah he might have "made himself a booth and sat under it in the shadow to see what would become of the city" of God. Instead of this, he at once girded up his loins and prepared to take an active part in the spiritual warfare of the Church. Let us attend to the account given by Constantius, his biographer. He immediately resigned his civil appointment, dismissed his numerous attendants, sacrificed the splendid and pleasant possessions of his wealth, gave away his substance to the poor, and enlisted himself in their company. His wife Eustachia became his sister. It is uncertain whether she continued to dwell under the same roof, or retired to a religious house. The circumstances of his future life seem to imply the latter, for he travelled much, and her presence on those occasions is not no-

¹ προς ὑποταγῶσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦναι. I Tim. i. 16.

ticed, nay, must have been noticed in some, had she kept him company. However there was nothing to share with him. His table was seldom spread for himself, his days were employed in the duties of his office, his nights were spent in prayer and meditation.¹

With regard to his austerities, much of course was concealed from the public gaze, as is remarked of our own George Herbert ; but though he ever strove to avoid observation, yet as a city built on a hill cannot remain hid, so the brightness of his sanctity shone through all reserve, and spread a glow over his least actions. What was ascertained may be briefly summed up as follows : From the day on which he began his ministry to the end of his life, that is, for the space of thirty years, he was so spare in his diet, that he never eat wheaten bread, never touched wine, vinegar, oil or vegetables, nor ever made use of salt to season his food. On the nativity and resurrection of our Lord alone he allowed himself one draught of wine diluted with water, so as to preserve little of its flavour. Meat was out of the question ; he lived more rigorously than any monk, and in those early times no meat was allowed to monks in France, except in the most urgent cases of debility and sickness.² What he did take was mere barley bread which he had winnowed and ground himself. First however he took some ashes, and, by way of humiliation, tasted them. Severe as was this diet, it appears almost miraculous when we are told that he never eat at all but twice a week, on Wednesdays and Satur-

¹ " Vitabat suorum Solatia." Const. again " Convivium jejunos pastor exhibuit."

² See Calmet, *Regle de St. Benoît.* tom. i. 564.

days, and in the evening of those days ; nay that generally he abstained entirely till the seventh day.¹

His clothing was the same in winter and in summer, simply the *cuculla* and the *tunic*. What these were in the fifth century we learn from Cassian, a contemporary writer.² The *cuculla*, he says, was a small hood for the head, ending in point and falling down over the neck as far as the shoulders. In process of time this dress changed very considerably. The *tunic* was a mere shirt, which the ancients wore next to the skin and generally without sleeves. Cassian describes the monks with linen tunics, which he calls *colobia*, the sleeves of which descended only to the elbow. But he is describing the monastic habit of the Egyptians, and it is probable that when the same pattern was adopted from them in Gaul, the tunic was made of wool or coarse stuff. It covered the whole body and reached to the feet. Under this however German wore the badge of the religious profession, the hair-cloth, (*cilicium*) which never left him. He seldom bought a new dress, but

¹ That this is the true sense of the passage is proved by another of the same author Constantius. B. ii. ch. 66. “Cujus inedia septimus plerumque dies pane tantum hordeaceo recreabat.” See Bosch. Boll. ad locum Const.

² “Cucullis perparvis usque ad cervicis humerorumque demissis confinia, quibus tantum capita contegant, indesinenter utuntur diebus ac noctibus.” Quoted by Camlet, Regle de St. Benoît, ch. lv. tom. ii.

“Colobiis lineis induti quæ vix ad cubitorum ima pertingunt, nudas de reliquo circumferunt manus.” Ibid.

Cassian travelled into Egypt, and founded afterwards a monastic house at Marseilles, after the model of Egypt. On the subject of the Egyptian monks, see the abstract of Fleury, tom. v. Liv. 20. p. 20, &c. See also Liv. 24. p. 600, &c. See also Heliot, tom. i. p. 163.

wore the old till it was nearly in rags, unless perchance he parted with it for some person in distress whom he had no other means of relieving.

His bed was even more uninviting than his dress. Four planks, in the form of an oblong, contained a bed of ashes, which they prevented from being dispersed. By the continual pressure of the body they had become hard, and presented a surface as rough as stone. On this he lay with his hair-cloth alone, and another coarse cloth for a coverlet.¹ No pillow supported his head, his whole body lay flat on the painful couch. He did not take off his garment to sleep, and seldom even loosened the girdle or took off his shoes. Neither did he ever part with a leathern belt which fastened to his chest a little box containing the relics of the saints. This, his only treasure, he valued above all earthly things. The relics were those of all the Apostles and of different Martyrs. At a subsequent period he took some from them to deposit in the tomb of St. Alban, at Verulam, in Britain; and it was this little box which the Empress Placidia so eagerly desired when German died at Ravenna. His sleep was such as might be expected from these austerities; it was neither long, nor unin-

¹ "Sagulum." See Calmet, tom. ii. p. 268. Also Bosch. Boll. Not. ad § 75. "Sagulum ego indumentum hic intelligi nullum existimo sed lodicem sen stragulum quâ noctu obtectus dormiebat."

As there appears a slight inconsistency as the text of Constantius stands, viz.: "Stratum omne, *subjecto cilicio*, et superposito uno tantum sagulo, fuit.—Noctibus nunquam vestitum, raro cingulum, raro calceamenta detraxit;" we might almost suspect *cilicio* had been written for *silice*, alluding to the hard ashes. Lipoman. Surius, the Bollandists have however all *cilicio*.

terrputed. Frequently after the example of our Lord he would pass the whole night in prayer ; and it should seem that these holy vigils had a peculiar efficacy in his case, which manifested itself in the following mornings by miracles and extraordinary deeds. These midnight watchings were divided between the tears and groans of penitence and hymns of praise and intercessions. In this manner, says his biographer, as we have before remarked, did the blessed German expiate any past errors into which human infirmity may have led him, and set the example of a sudden and transcendent holiness.

According to the Apostolic precept he was “given to hospitality.” His house was open to every one and he paid no regard to the quality of the visitor. Faithful to the lesson taught by our Lord Himself, he washed the feet of his guests with his own hands and then prepared a feast which all partook of but the ascetic German. It is often said at the present day that there is cowardice and want of faith in retiring from the world to avoid temptation, and that to bury religion in monastic seclusion is to perform but one part of the Christian Law which commands us to love our neighbours as ourselves. Here then German might obtain the approbation of modern objectors. He did not leave the world as far as outward things are concerned. His whole Episcopate was passed amid the tumult and concourse of men, with the exception of those hours he spent among the Brotherhood he instituted, as we shall see. He would fail however in satisfying them, in that he encouraged monastic retirement in others. Nor was it by contenting himself with smaller measures of strictness than a religious rule enforced, that he preserved his conscience spotless in the busy scenes of the world.

He lived like St. Anthony and St. Athanasius at the same time.

No distinct account has been left us of the personal appearance of German. All we know is that when his body was removed in the ninth century it was observed that he was of middle stature, and that he had a fine head of hair interspersed with white hairs.¹ In this form we are told he also appeared to a little girl whom he cured of dumbness after his death. As a general remark it may be said that his features were rendered squalid and emaciated by the severe fasts he endured,² while at the same time his countenance possessed a dignity which commanded universal respect.³ Dugdale informs us that in St. German's Priory in Cornwall there was a mutilated impression from the Seal of this monastery. The inscription was gone, but the area on one side represented a few faint traces of the figure of the Saint.

If it may be permitted to assign human reasons, where so much was superhuman, we should say German was naturally a healthy person and possessed a robust constitution. Other Saints, by austerities less great than his, were rendered infirm for life. St. Bernard never quite recovered from the effects of his early severities.⁴ Forced to be carried about in a carriage, he was subject to temporary weaknesses which greatly impeded his exertions. St. Basil⁵ again and St. Chrysostom lost the health of their body while the soul seemed to gather

¹ Hiericus de Miraculis, C. v. B. i.

² Constantius, C. ii. B. ix. apud Surium.

³ Ibid. Ch. xxxiii.

⁴ Neander's Life of St. Bernard.

⁵ Church of the Fathers, p. 114 and 71.

fresh vigour for heavenly things.¹ "I cannot number, says the former, the various affections which have befallen me, my weakness, the violence of the fever and the bad state of my constitution." German was not apparently subject to this trial. The only sickness we find he endured previous to his last illness was a temporary lameness, produced by a fall, when he sojourned in Britain. Like St. Martin of Tours, he could undertake long expeditions, and mix in the stir and noise of the crowd without inconvenience. All blessings are from God. Daniel was "fairer and fatter in flesh" than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat, though he lived on pulse.² Perhaps German had not those particular inclinations and habits which needed the humiliation of bodily suffering. The pride of learning, intellect and wisdom, seem to have been checked often by these visitations. St. Paul had a thorn in the flesh, lest he should be too much exalted. St. Basil thought he owed much to some such affliction, in being weaned from the seductive philosophy of Athens.³ German was probably free from these allurements. He became profoundly learned in sacred science, insomuch, that St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, esteemed him the best guide for his own early studies, of all the teachers of Gaul. Yet he was ignorant of that passionate love for learning as such which seems to have devoured the minds of Origen and others.

It is to be regretted, together with the absence of any external description, that we have no definite account of his particular natural disposition, or of his acquirements. It is certainly interesting, if it is not instruc-

¹ Fleury, Lib. 21, p. 161.

² Daniel i. 15.

³ Serm. "De Libris Gentilium Legendis."

tive, to learn what characteristics of a more earthly kind were combined with the heavenly virtues of Saints. And the observation is often made, that their example has more hold upon the imagination of the weaker brethren than that of our blessed Lord, for the reason, that they were liable to infirmity, and had tastes and feelings which showed them to be mere men. The want of such description, is perhaps to be attributed to the fact, that his biographer was not personally acquainted with him. He had certain means indeed of obtaining minute information, whether from the monks of Auxerre, who had continual opportunity of seeing him and conversing with him, or from those Bishops and men of education who attended him in his last days almost without intermission. But his account is a mere sketch ; and what seems important to one writer does not to another : nay, different subjects of consideration occupy different generations ; at one time miracles, at another original characters. Then again, the style of Constantius is poetical, not philosophical, and style is indicative of the train of men's thoughts.

However, thus much appears. From the time of his ordination, he applied diligently to the study of the scriptures, and became so versed in theological matters, that he was considered among the Doctors of the time. St. Patrick spent many years under his tuition.¹ The learned suppose him to have committed to writing some of the fruits of his studies. But nothing has remained. His natural eloquence, his learning and practical wisdom, would mark him out as the fittest person to encounter the Pelagians in Britain, even in a synod of

¹ This is well authenticated from Probus, Jocelin, Hericus and others. See Stillingfleet Orig. p. 211. Ed. 8vo.

prelates, where so many were eminent for talent as well as piety. The event proved the justness of their choice. "His own arguments, we are told, were interspersed with revealed truth, and while he poured forth in torrents of eloquence the dictates of his conscience, he supported them always with the agreement of what he had read."¹ That there was in his language an elevation and wisdom, which are not indeed to be taken apart from his holy life, but which were the especial cause of the attention paid to his words, is manifest from the unwearied earnestness with which his last discourses were received by the six Bishops who waited upon him, among whom was the famous St. Peter, surnamed Chrysologus, one of the Doctors of the Church, and then Bishop of Ravenna.² The moral endowments which he evinced before his conversion distinguished him throughout. He retained all his firmness of purpose, courage in difficulties, command over his own will and that of others, presence of mind, penetration and prudence. But Christianity taught him resignation in suffering, charity which flowed over the least of his actions, forgetfulness of self in common danger, a spirit of reserve strongly contrasted with his former tendency to ostentation.³

¹ Const. ch. xxiii. Surius. B. i.

² Conf. also, ch. xxxiii. "Assidebant jugiter obsequentes sex venerabiles sacerdotes." "Dum cum Episcopis sermones conferret de religione."

³ "Sed semper secreti obumbratione notitiam suppressit." Ch. xvi. Surius.

CHAPTER VII.

St. German founds a Monastery.

ONE of the first acts which displayed German's zeal for the Church over which he was appointed, was also highly characteristic of the age in which he lived. The fifth century was the period which introduced the monastic system in Gaul and other Western countries. The East had got the start of a hundred years. German was the first to institute it at Auxerre. No positive declaration of the causes which led him to found a monastery has been transmitted, except that which was obvious enough to a Saint of those times, "the advancement of religion."¹ But it requires very little stretch of imagination to understand the chain of circumstances which gave the impulse. First, however, let us ascertain the fact itself.

At the north-east of Auxerre, separated by the river Yonne from the town itself, as it then was, he built the first monastery which had been seen in that district. It was dedicated to St. Cosmas and St. Damianus, Martyrs, and subsequently obtained the name of St. Germans. Afterwards it again changed its appellation and was called St. Marian, from one of the holy brethren who gave lustre to the institution. This is not the monastery which was celebrated as the Abbey St. Germans of Auxerre at a later period, the fame of which far eclipsed St. Marian. St. Marian, however, was the original foundation, and under its vaults the body of

¹ Ad profectum religionis. Const.

German himself reposed, until it was translated to the larger convent in the ninth century. It is now no longer standing, one column alone exists to testify the spot of its situation. But before it fell into ruin one might have seen the very cell of the good Bishop, where he retired when he visited the monastery. It could be entered only by a small opening, and in a kneeling posture. This place was the witness of his many prayers and mortifications. St. Alodius, probably the same who succeeded him in the Bishopric, was the first Abbot or Archimandrite, as he was called ; and after him St. Mamertinus was elected, the conversion of whom holds a prominent rank in the history of our Saint. These are the only Abbots known before the twelfth century ; when the order of the Premonstrants was established at St. Marian. After various changes, the monastery was finally destroyed by the Calvinists, in 1567, among the other acts of their sacrilegious fury.

We must now return to those causes which doubtless influenced German's mind, and which will furnish the most satisfactory explanation to be obtained concerning the rule and discipline of the new monastery.

There were at this time three principal religious houses in France, that of Marmontier, near Tours, instituted by St. Martin, that of St. Victor, at Marseilles, founded by Cassian, and that of Lerins, an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus retired. Which of these was the model of that at Auxerre ? Not Marmontier, because it had scarcely any rule at all in its origin. Lerins, on the other hand, in process of time adopted the constitutions of Cassian as well as St. Victor. The rule of Cassian which he established at Marseilles was that which attracted the chief notice, and we shall

see that there were many associations which would particularly recommend it to German. But we must take up the subject somewhat higher.

Enmity to institutions as well as to men and persuasions is an active principle which exercises the human ingenuity in the discovery of everything which tells against the devoted object. But love is one of far greater energy, as it never faileth, "and endureth all things ;"¹ it is ever ardent and indefatigable in the support of the cause it has espoused. Much, then, has been written to weaken the foundations of monasticism, but much more has been written for the establishment of its claims. Indeed, if any plausible work has been composed to throw discredit upon it, the labours of love have furnished apparently the chief materials ; and as heretics learn even the history of heresy from the Church, the enemies of the cenobitic life have gained their information from its very advocates. This persuasion may afford sufficient ground for the view here taken of its origin.²

Four modifications of the monastic system are observable in the early ages. The ascetics, properly so called, are its first representatives. They existed in the times of the Apostles ; nay, they were always in the Church, under the Judaic dispensation, before the Christian. Celibacy, fasting, prayer, silence, watching, and mortification, were the practice of their profession. It does not appear that in the earliest times of Christianity they separated from the general community. The Church itself, when compared with the rest of the

¹ 1 Corinth. 13.

² See Fleury. Discours. Hist. Eccl. Hélot Discours. préliminaire.

world, was a monastery. And while the fervour of the whole body countenanced strictness and austerity, separation was superseded. When the numbers of Christians increased, and all ranks, professions, and pursuits acknowledged the standard of the cross, the temptations of the world entered into the Church's bosom. This was the signal for the first general retreat. The hermits, or anchorites, forthwith fixed their abode in the deserts. Nor did their behaviour meet with any disapprobation. They were called the people of God in a special sense, their example was professed from the pulpit to the multitude, and their prayers were allowed to have a peculiar efficacy for the rest of the world.

Such were the two first stages of the monastic spirit. When the hermits had filled the deserts, they began to draw near to each other, and to fix their habitations or cells in close vicinity to each other. These religious societies abounded in Egypt during the fourth century. They resembled little cities, where each man had his own house, and all met, morning and evening, to pray together. St. Martin's monastery, at Tours, was at first nothing else than a community of this kind. Finally, in the midst of these, arose in Egypt the fourth class of monks, those which were destined to prevail—the Cœnobites. They cast all their substance into one common stock, assembled under one roof, conformed to one rule, and submitted to one superior. The Abbot, or Archimandrite, thus obtained a distinct position. After this model have all future monastic institutions been framed, though there were in the fourth and fifth centuries some characteristics which do not exist at present.¹ There seems to be reason in the

¹ Guizot. France.

remark of a modern historian, that a principle of liberty was the basis of monasteries at their origin. No obligation of perpetual residence, other than that of decency, obtained. A set of devout persons congregated to practise a rule of life impracticable in the world ; but they were not, at least in the west, bound by vows before the sixth century, when St. Benedict founded his order. There were even instances when those who had attained a high degree of perfection retired from their monastery to live the life of hermits. Another prominent feature of the institution was, that monks were regarded as laymen, and had actually few among them who were ordained. Like other classes of men distinct from the clergy, they were subject to the same kind of episcopal jurisdiction ; nor had they for a long time any appointed priests for themselves, but were members of the diocese and parish in which they lived, and attended one common church with the rest of the people. Many reasons, however, would have, and in fact, did supervene, to require peculiar ministers for themselves, without recurring to the invidious motive of vicing with the secular clergy, which is assigned by some. Still it is manifest that till the tenth century the monastic houses were never emancipated from the episcopal rule. In 451, a few years after the foundation of German's monastery, the following canon was enacted by the council of Chalcedon. " Let those who have sincerely and in truth adopted the solitary life, be honoured as is just. But whereas some, who are in appearance and name monks, throw confusion into the civil and ecclesiastical affairs, by wandering into towns, and attempting to establish of their own accord monasteries, it is decreed that no one shall build or found a monastery or a chapel, without

the sanction of the Bishop of the city. Let the monks in every city and country be subject to the Bishops, live quietly, apply themselves to fasting and prayer, and remain on the spot where they have made renunciation of the world. Careless of external things, let them continue in their seclusion, unless the contrary be ordered by the Bishop of the place for some necessary work." Allusion is here made to the Sarabaites and Messalians, fanatics, who, under pretence of strictness, committed many excesses, and were generally reprobated by good men. The authority of the Bishop was thus positively declared, while the honour due to the monastic body was sanctioned by the same decree. At that time, no exception to episcopal rule was claimed by any appeal to the Pope. If we may attribute partiality to the see of Rome, it inclined certainly to the side of the clergy against the monks. There are angry expressions on record, of Pope Celestine, who lived about this very time. They were called forth by the great tendency of the age to escape from ecclesiastical obedience, and by the excesses of fanaticism. The discipline and order of the hierarchy were the great object at which the Church of Rome aimed in the fifth century. And to this, not to any settled disapprobation of the system, must be attributed the occasional rebukes which the Popes directed against the monks. At Rome, as well as in the rest of Christendom, religious houses had been established, and after the first impression of strangeness had rapidly passed away, obtained the same favour as elsewhere.¹

¹ The passages alluded to by Guizot, in his endeavour to establish the contrary opinion, can hardly be said to make for him; the opposite inference would be best drawn from them, especially when compared with others of the same writers.

Monasticism was introduced into the West in the following manner. In 340, St. Athanasius, during the troubles occasioned by the Arians, came to Rome, and there made known the practices of Antony and other Egyptian monks.¹ Convents were established forthwith in that city. St. Eusebius, of Vercelli, carried out the same plan in other parts of Italy, and soon after Milan followed the example.² Hence St. Martin issued to found a monastery at Tours, as we have seen. Two thousand persons in process of time are said to have congregated under his discipline.³ But no fixed rule such as afterwards was instituted, determined all their actions. Sulpitius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin, describes their habits after this manner :⁴ " St. Martin made himself a monastery about two miles out of the city. So secret and retired was the place, that he did not miss the solitude of the desert. On one side it was bounded by the high and precipitous rock of a mountain, on the other the level was shut in by the river Loire, which makes a gentle bend. There was but one way into it, and that very narrow. His own cell was of wood. Many of the brethren made themselves dwellings of the same kind, but most hollowed out the stone of the mountain which was above them. There were eighty scholars (at that time) who were under training after the pattern of their saintly master. No one had aught his own ; all things were thrown into a common stock. It was not lawful as to most

¹ See Giesler. Church Hist. Monastic System.

² Mabillon Acta, S. S. Ord. Ben. Præfat. § 7.

³ Héliot. Discours prélim. and tom. v. p. 61.

⁴ Vid. Transl. Church of the Fathers, and compare the original. Ed. Octav. Lugd. p. 498, 500, 517, 516, 541, 551, 566 ; the whole of the first dialogue.

monks to buy or sell any thing. They had no art except that of transcribing, which was assigned to the younger ; the older gave themselves up to prayer. They seldom left their cell, except to attend the place of prayer. They took their meal together after the time of fasting. No one tasted wine except compelled by bodily weakness. Most of them were clad in camel's hair ;¹ a softer garment was a crime, and what of course makes it more remarkable is, that many of them were accounted noble, who, after a very different education, had forced themselves to this humility and patience, and we have lived to see a great many of them *Bishops*.”²

There was indeed much in this institution which would influence the feelings of German, but it was as yet too indefinite to be used as a model for his own, and something more to the purpose had been introduced in his time by Cassian, from which Marmoutier itself may afterwards have borrowed. Cassian, according to some, was a Scythian by birth ; but more probably he was a native of Provence, in France. In his early youth he went to Palestine, and then became a monk, at Bethlehem. After this, with one companion, he visited the deserts of Egypt, and familiarised himself with the habits of the chief orders of solitaries.³ He then went to Constantinople, was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom, and passing through Rome, came into France, and stopped at Marseilles, where he received the Priesthood and built a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Victor the Martyr. This

¹ See the print in Héliot, tom. i. p. 160.

² Sacerdotes. That this is the sense of the word in the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, see Ducange ad vocem.

³ Héliot, tom. v. p. 154. Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

was in 409. He also founded a convent for women. He introduced the customs of the Egyptian monks ; and his rule, which he explained in his books concerning monastic institutions, became the chief pattern in France till the reform of St. Benedict. The most famous monastery of all, namely, that of Lerins, which St. Honoratus founded a year after that of St. Victor, in 410, certainly borrowed many of its regulations from Cassian, who began to write about 420. And with this establishment German would have been well acquainted from a variety of sources, among which was his intimacy with St. Hilary of Arles, who had been Abbot of Lerins, and St. Lupus of Troyes, once a monk of the same place, and the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis.

Although the works of Cassian convey the most definite idea to be obtained of the rise of Monasticism in Gaul, yet the introduction of Egyptian customs there described naturally was attended with some changes, owing to the climate and different education of the natives. Moreover it is the remark of the writer himself, that no uniform plan was carried out in any country, and that there were nearly as many forms and rules as there were cells and monasteries. And such was the state of things till St. Benedict, in the sixth century, brought in a more perfect code. Till then, the superior's will was sometimes the law : sometimes custom and tradition authorized any particular form ; again sometimes a few statutes were written. The unanimity and consent of the monks was the pledge of their obedience and conformity, as perhaps would be the case were the monastic system reviving in our own country. There was, so to say, but one order of monks at the time, all subjected

to one main law, renunciation of the world, and ascetic life. Nevertheless a type existed of all the institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries ; namely, the Egyptian cœnobites. St. Basil adopted their usages in Asia Minor, St. Athanasius brought them into repute in Italy, and Cassian established them in Gaul. The principal alterations which were here made regarded the food and clothing of the Western monks. The natives of Gaul could not content themselves with the very scanty allowance of the Egyptians, nor could they endure the cold of a northern climate without additional covering.¹ “We cannot, said Cassian, be content with simple socks, and with one tunic, on account of the severity of the winter, and so small a hood as the Egyptians wear, would provoke laughter rather than edify the people.” Moreover, the practice of manual labour was frequently laid aside, and reading and writing substituted. Thus, under St. Martin, the monks had been taught to transcribe books. Lerins it is well known was the seat of learning and literary occupations. Another deviation not to be overlooked, was the use recommended by Cassian of daily prayers in common, after the example of some monks in Palestine. For whereas the Egyptians only assembled for nocturns and vespers, other eastern monks observed the hours also of tierce, sext, and nones.²

It would exceed the limits of these pages to enter into any further details concerning the customs of these religious institutions. The spirit however which presided over them may be in part understood by the fol-

¹ The saying was : “Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura.” Sulp. Sever.

² Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

lowing sketch of the Egyptians extracted from Cassian's works.¹ "They came together, he says, to pray at evening and night, and each time recited twelve psalms, according to the instructions given, as they believed, to their forefathers, by an angel who came and sang eleven psalms among them, with a prayer after each, and then added a twelfth, with a hallelujah, after which he disappeared. They read also two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and one out of the New ; except on Saturdays, Sundays, and the Easter season, at which times they only read the New Testament, at one lesson the Epistles or the Acts, at the other the Gospels. After each Psalm, they prayed standing, with their hands extended, then prostrated themselves for an instant, and arose immediately for fear of falling asleep, copying the motions of him who directed the prayers. A profound silence reigned in the assembly however large it might be. One voice alone was heard, namely, that of the Chanter who recited the Psalm, or of the Priest who said the Prayer. The Chanter stood upright ; the rest were seated on low stools, because their fasting and labour rendered them unfit for a standing posture. If the Psalms were long, they divided them, desirous not to recite much and rapidly, but to pay great attention. The signal for prayer was given by a horn, and one was appointed to awake the brethren for the nightly prayer. On Saturdays and Sundays they assembled at nine in the morning for the Holy Communion."²

¹ See Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xx., and more at length, Cellier Aut. Eccl. tom. xiii.

² It does not appear that Saturday was ever kept up in the West, as it was in the East, with that reverence which the Jewish Sabbath had taught the Eastern nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

St German and St. Mamertinus.

ONE day, as German was coming out at the door of the monastery he had founded, he was met by a young man who had lost the sight of one of his eyes and the use of an arm. The young man, on perceiving him, fell down at his feet and did obeisance.¹ German had been apprized by divine communication of the visit, and when the stranger earnestly entreated his assistance, he answered, "Be not afraid, but have confidence," and stretching out his hand, raised the suppliant and kissed him on the chin. But the stranger drew back, exclaiming, "Far be it from thee, O man of God; my lips as yet are not purified from the embrace of the devil's altars." "Nay," returned German, "I am assured that this very night thou hast been purged from this pollution." The Bishop then took him by the hand, and led him through the monastery into the cell which he had reserved for himself, whenever he came to the place.² He there made him sit down, and questioned him on the cause of his arrival. Not satisfied with the account he received, he rebuked the young man for concealing some important circumstance, adding that he had been acquainted already with every thing. He afterwards conducted him to the town of Auxerre, and entered the church, where the clergy and a number of laymen were assembled.

¹ Quem procidens in terram adoravi."—Const.

² See Hericus de Mir. 22.

In the hearing of all, he then desired the stranger to give a complete 'relation of all that had happened to him. Whereupon the young man, who perceived nothing could be concealed, addressed the multitude in the following manner :—¹

“My name is Mamertinus : I was a servant of Idols, and an ardent worshipper of Jupiter and the rest of the false gods, insomuch that it was with difficulty I could be dragged away from their images. On one occasion, while I was paying my wretched veneration to their statues, suddenly I lost the sight of one of my eyes, and one of my hands withered up. Supposing I had incurred their displeasure by some transgression, I poured forth abundant tears of penitence, and implored their forgiveness. As I was one day returning to the temple of the gods to repeat my lamentations, I was met by one Sabinus, who was clad in the habit of a monk, and wore the tonsure. After we had exchanged some words, he asked the cause of my affliction, and the religion I professed. “The religion of Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo and the other gods,” was my answer, “and I am hastening to obtain absolution and soundness of body at their altars.” “You err,” replied Sabinus, “because you know not the truth, and this is the real cause of your sufferings. Had those gods whom you worship any knowledge and understanding, they would not remain blind, dumb, deaf, void of smelling, motionless, mutilated, or bound with iron and lead, as we see them. Of them does the Holy Scripture speak when it says,² ‘They have mouths and speak

¹ Mamertinus published the account himself, and it is inserted in Constantius's Life of St. German.

² Ps. 115.

not ; eyes have they and see not ; they have ears and hear not ; noses have they and smell not.' And with regard to their worshippers, the same Psalmist proceeds to say, 'They that make them are like unto them, and so are all such as put their trust in them.' Consider the punishment prepared for worshippers of statues, and then apply it to yourself. If you would recover your sight and touch, follow my injunctions. In the Church of Auxerre there is a man of eminent holiness, called German, (whose minister I am among the clergy.) Christ manifests himself to him as it were face to face, and the most wonderful cures are performed by him. Leave your idols, and go seek him there."

"I thanked Sabinus and desired him to direct me to the Bishop he thus commended. Pleased at my readiness he guided me to an elevation called Mons Matogenes, and thence showed me my road in the plain beneath. When he had left me I proceeded with some alacrity. And though the rain had not ceased to fall from sun-rise to sun-set, and my garments were soaked, nevertheless I continued boldly my journey. About five o'clock, however, as the night was drawing on, the rain increased with such violence, and the darkness became so profound, that I was unable to discern my way. It was with difficulty I arrived at the Cemetery.¹ The rain fell in torrents and repeated lightnings rent the clouds. I was in great anxiety to find a place of refuge. At last, by the constant glare of the lightning, I discerned a small cell in which there was a tomb. Having entered, and finding nothing else to rest myself upon, I laid me down on the tomb itself, igno-

¹ The Mons Autricus mentioned before.

rant of the remains it covered. Hardly had I entered, when a sudden light, equal to that of the day, shone through the cell. Not curious about the cause of it, I placed my little basket under my head, my staff at my side, and fell fast asleep.

“The thunder awoke me soon after, and lo ! I beheld at the entrance of the cell a young man in white and glittering garments. Struck with awe at the apparition, I turned myself round and lay flat upon the tomb. Prompted by fear, I gave vent to this prayer : “O God of the Christians, whom German doth serve in holiness, and who hast granted him that virtue which I am about to seek, deliver me from the dread which has seized my mind.” While I thus prayed, the young man at the door exclaimed in a voice full of the sweetest melody : “Holy Corcodemus, holy Corcodemus, Levite of Christ.”¹ When he had uttered these words, an answer came from the tomb : “I know who thou art, and hear thy voice ; tell me, I pray thee, brother Florentinus, what wilt thou with me ?” Florentinus replied : “Rise up quickly. The blessed Bishop Peregrine,² with the rest of his company, are assembled in the Church to perform their vigils. St. Amator desires thou wilt also come to their meeting.” “Nay, beloved brother, returned Corcodemus, return to the blessed Bishop and give him this message : I am not able to leave this cell to-night, because I am entertaining a stranger ; there is a nest of savage animals about the place who are only waiting for my departure to devour

¹ The Levites under the Judaic Law being inferior to the Priests, the term would apply to the Deacons under the Christian Dispensation.

² Peregrine the first Bishop of Auxerre. See above.

him. May God not deprive me of the benefit of your nightly office. There are two Sub-deacons,¹ my fellows, besides me, Alexander and Jovian, and Jovinianus is Lector. Report this, I pray thee, to the holy Bishops."

"The young man then retired. The mysterious nature of their discourse made my blood run cold. Sleep, however, soon regained my wearied limbs. Sometime before daybreak, I thought I again saw the young man at the entrance of the cell. He called to Corcodemus, saying: "The holy Bishops, Peregrine and Amator, before they separate, intend to celebrate a Votive Mass,² and have sent me to invite thee to come and fulfil thy appointed ministry.³ If thou art anxious for thy guest's safety, Alexander can relieve thee. But they request thee to bring Jovian the sub-deacon, and Jovinian the Lector." After this, the tomb opened, and there came forth a man of beautiful appearance clad in garments of the whitest wool. He left the cell and found at the door three others dressed in white, whom he saluted and called by their respective names. Then he addressed Alexander: "Peregrine and Amator have commanded me to go to them, do thou preside in this cell to guard the stranger from the savage reptile, with her crew of seven."

¹ Hence it appears that the Sub-deacons were a proper substitute for the Deacons at ordinary offices. But for the Mass, it was necessary the Deacon should be present, as is shown a little below.

² i. e. "The Eucharist performed out of the usual time by voluntary impulse.—See Ducange *ad vocem*. One might conjecture it originated in the expression of our Lord: "With desire I have desired to eat this supper with you."

³ Corcodemus had been Deacon in his lifetime, as was before shown.

“Afterwards I thought in my vision that the blessed Deacon took me by the hand, saying, “Come thou also, stranger, to the Mass.” We then went together to the Church, where I beheld around the altar five persons standing, dressed in splendid robes. I asked Coreodemus the names of those who ministered at the altar. He answered: “He that is standing in the middle is the Bishop and Martyr, St. Peregrine,¹ with whom I myself was sent from Rome by command of Pope Sixtus.² The two persons at his right hand are Amator and Marcellianus, both Bishops, and those at his left Elladius and Valerianus, all which succeeded St. Peregrine in their turn.”³ The Deacon then left me and advanced towards them. Then I thought I heard St. Amator speak to the Deacon, saying:⁴ “Enjoin silence, Brother, that undisturbed we may perform our office, for our brother Peregrine is in haste to return to Baugy,⁵ and on his account we must celebrate the Sacrifice somewhat earlier.”⁶

“Silence was then proclaimed and the Catechumens’ Dismissal announced. In the mean while I remained in secret awe at the novelty of the mystery. Not daring to advance to the place where the Mass was celebrated, I stood where the Deacon had left me. Then St. Pere-

¹ See a previous chapter.

² Sixtus II. in the middle of the third century. Vid. Suprà.

³ Hence it appears the middle of the altar was the chief place, it is here assigned to the Founder.

⁴ It was usual for one of the minor clergy, before the service of the Eucharist, to order the Catechumens to retire, as they were not allowed to be present at the mysteries. Stilling. 229.

⁵ Or Boüy, in Burgundy, where Peregrine had been buried. See Chap. III.

⁶ “Consummare Sacrificium.”

grine questioned Corcodemus about me. "He is my guest, said the Deacon, in order to protect him I refrained from attending upon you before." After this I was brought up into their presence. My whole appearance was different from theirs : they were dressed in white robes and I was in black. While I was musing on this difference, a voice addressed by one of the bishops to Corcodemus, resounded in my ears. "Separate the stranger from our assembly, and drive him from the Church ; he is unworthy to participate in this ordinance of grace, for he is a servant of idols." The Deacon was going to obey, when I fell at his feet and used these entreaties : "I pray thee, friend of God, to intercede for me with the Bishops, that they may have pity on me and break asunder the bonds of demons which shackle me." I was then presented to them, and Corcodemus received orders to place his hand upon my head.¹ After a second Imposition of hands from the Deacon, the Prelates instructed me in the duties of my condition and the ceremonies which I might assist at. Then they enjoined my guide to conduct me back to his cell and send me at day-break to German, whose office it was to impart spiritual grace to me. We then retired.

"Before we entered the cell, I thought I fell down at the feet of the Deacon, and desired him to tell me how many years had passed since he came to rest in it. "After the martyrdom of the blessed Peregrine,² on

¹ The Catechumens were not blessed by the Bishop but by the Deacon, Confirmation being a subsequent ordinance for the baptized.—Conf. Newman's Arians, p. 49.

² St. Peregrine's martyrdom was May 16, during the persecution of Diocletian. Some, however, place it under the Decian persecution, nearly fifty years before, erroneously as it appears from Tillemont, tom. iv. Mem. p. 481.

the third day of the same month, but not till some years had elapsed, did I leave this world to meet the Lord. I and my brothers had wished to be partakers of his sufferings, inasmuch as we had been entrusted with the same Commission.¹ But not long after an Emperor was created,² distinguished for his Christian profession, who put an end to the persecution, opened again all the Churches, and appointed orthodox Bishops. We thus failed in our desires. My companions were Marsus the presbyter, Alexander and Jovian. Here they buried me. They afterwards, as I learnt by divine intimation,³ died as Confessors of the Faith. Jovinian, however, the Lector, by God's permission, obtained the crown of Martyrdom."⁴

"All these things seemed to take place in my sleep. On my awaking, immediately the cock crew.⁵ Remembering the circumstances of the vision, I made the Sign of the Cross on my forehead, as I had been instructed, and lying prostrate on the sepulchre, prayed in this manner with tears in my eyes: "O Lord God of Israel, who dwellest on high and beholdest all things below, and considerest from afar great things; beside whom there is no God;⁶ thou who didst visit this

¹ Of converting Gaul. See Chap. III.

² Constantine the Great.

³ Comp. August. "*de Curâ pro mortuis gerendâ.*"

⁴ Concerning these Saints, the most accurate account is to be found in Tillemont, *Mem.* vol. iv. p. 480.

⁵ The crowing of the cock is an incident which is mentioned significantly by writers of this period, as bearing a mystical reference to repentance.

⁶ These Biblical expressions are probably the colouring of Mamertine after his conversion; or he may have been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity before that event. Vid. Bolland. *ad locum* Const.

earth to recover the human race, and didst abide among men ; by whose merciful direction I this night, unworthy as I am, have learnt the secret of my salvation : grant that I may without delay be brought into the presence of German, towards whom I have been so far guided." I then rose up, and turned my eyes towards the Basilica,¹ where I beheld a large light which spread within and around it. At the same time a voice issued in chants and hymns. I stopped to listen. The strain which first broke on my ears was : " Let them all be confounded that adore carved images and glory in their idols." The next was : " Save thy servant, O God, who trusteth in thee." The third, " Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered."² On hearing this, I prostrated myself seven times on the tomb and prayed : " O God of the holy Corcodemus, receive him that hasteneth to Thee, and disappoint me not in my hope ; by Thy care and favour have I been brought to this place, where I have learnt the error of my ways." I rose again and turned towards the Church, when, lo ! another strain suited to my wants : " The Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee." Strengthened by these sounds, I fell down a third time in prayer ; on rising, I found the light had disappeared. I had learnt the mysterious virtue of the Sign of the Cross, which I repeated on my forehead. At last the day returned, and having again crossed myself several times, and given thanks to my saintly host, I hastened

¹ The Church built by Amator at the spot where the house of Ruptilius stood. See Ch. iii.

² These were, the Antiphons sung at the end of the Psalms, probably.

to find my future guide and director. I enquired where Bishop German lived, and was told that to-day he was not in the town, but at a Monastery which he visited very often by passing the river in a little boat. I then asked the way to it, and proceeded thither ; having stopped a little at the entrance, suddenly the Bishop came out, who, to my astonishment, was acquainted with my vision, and reproached me with endeavouring to conceal the circumstance of the serpents which lay in wait for me at the sepulchre."

When Mamertinus had finished his account, the whole assembly were filled with joy, and blessed God, saying : "Thanks be to Thee, O God, because Thou had foreordained this vessel of election for Thyself before the foundation of the world, in order to manifest in him the greatness of Thy power to all and without end." The Bishop then led him to the place where Remission of Sins was granted,¹ and having blessed the water as the custom of the Church was, he baptized him according to the usual rites. Mamertinus then addressed German : "My Lord, he said, inasmuch as you have healed me in my inmost soul, restore, I pray you, the members of my body, give me back my sight and my hand." German answered, "Dost thou believe that I can perform this for thee ?" "I do believe, and for this purpose do I seek your assistance." German then took oil, and having made the Sign of the Cross on the eye and hand of Mamertinus, restored them to their former condition. The people immediately began to praise God for the works He accomplished through His servant.

¹ The Baptistery was often in ancient times separate from the Church, as is shown by the plan in Bingham. (*quod vide.*)

German then desired them to accompany him to the place where Mamertinus had lodged, to look for the serpent and her crew. When they arrived at the spot, prayer was offered up, and Mamertinus showed the cell and the tomb where he had had the vision. The Bishop ordered the stone to be removed ; eight serpents were found under it, one of which exceeded the rest in size. This was the mother. She raised her head and stared upon all, but especially German. "Thou wicked serpent, said he, dost thou still cleave to the heel of the human race, and dost thou dare after thy crime and defeat,¹ stretch thy folds over the limbs of the venerable Deacon Corcodemus ? As the Lord liveth, thou deservest death with all thy tribe. But since thou hast obeyed the Deacon, and hast not injured his guest, depart untouched and avoid henceforth the abode of man. Let the forest and desert be thy dwelling, do hurt to no one on thy way. Not I, but Christ, through me, charges thee." The serpent forthwith, says the writer of these facts, as if burdened with the mass of her iniquities, bowed the head and unfolding her long back, departed, and was followed by the rest. On seeing the vast size of the beast, all fled in terror ; German however remained motionless, and reproved them for their want of faith. The serpent, we are informed, was seven cubits in length.

After this, the chapel of the blessed Deacon Corcodemus, which from the thickness of the briars had been known to none, became the resort of all devout

¹ *Prævaricatio* and *Devictio*. The latter word is found in Tertullian for "victory." Possibly *Devinctio* may here be the proper reading, i. e. "binding," Satan being bound by the triumph of the Cross. See *Forcellinus ad vocem*.

persons, who studiously carried thither their voluntary offerings of piety.¹

Mamertinus gave himself up to the monastery of German with such ardour that he never left its enclosure without command of his Bishop or his religious brethren. His holy life and divine knowledge became so conspicuous, that on the death of Alodius,² the first Abbot, he was appointed to take his place, and governed the monastery till about 468. He died near that time on the 21st of April.

The days on which the memory of the Saints mentioned in this chapter are honoured at Auxerre, are as follows, according to the Martyrology of that town, published in 1751.⁵ Peregrine, on the 16th May ; Marcellianus, 13th May ; Eladius, or Helladius, 8th May ; Valerianus, or Valerins, 7th May ; Amator, 2nd May ; Corcodemus the Deacon, 18th May ; Florentinus, 27th Sept. ; Alexander the Sub-deacon, 4th Feb. ; Jovinianus the Lector. 5th May ; Jovianus the Sub-deacon, not known ; Alodius, 28th Sept. ; Mamertinus, 21st April.

¹ Culturam promeruit. Cellulæ votivam gerentes devotionem.

² Alodius is the name in the Martyrol. Antissiodorense, not Alogius. It is uncertain whether Alodius or Alogius was the same as the Bishop of Auxerre of that name.

³ See Tillemont, tom. iv. 480, &c., with respect to the chronology and acts of these Saints. See also Notes to Const. by Boscnius, Bollandist.

CHAPTER IX.

German's First Miracles.

WE have just seen that Mamertinus recovered the use of his sight and touch, by the instrumentality of German ; the following pages will record a series of miracles, which finished only with his death, and among which some were of the most astonishing nature. It has been remarked that ecclesiastical miracles are of a character very different from that of Scripture miracles : allowing the truth of the remark, still it seems more applicable to the four first centuries of the Church than to the fifth ; and again, to public miracles, which affect the Church in general, than to those which rather regard individuals. The miracles of German, as will be observed, bear in many cases a strong resemblance to those of our Lord and His Apostles. They are not less striking in the power they evince, the effects they produce, or the publicity with which they were performed. If the consciousness of the agent be a prominent feature in the miracles of Scripture, it is not less so in those of German and others of the same period. Of course this consciousness rested, as in the Apostles' case, not on any feelings of self-sufficiency, but on faith in Christ's merits and power. Thus we have seen that German sometimes thought it right to declare that, "Not he himself, but Christ through him, gave the charge."¹ Among the earliest of his miracles is the following :—

¹ See last Chapter.

There was a man of a highly respectable character called Januarius. When the governor of the province made his round of visits, Januarius had to collect the tax-money, and carry it to the treasury. Prompted once by the vicinity of Auxerre, he deviated a little from his straight course to see German. In the meanwhile, he lost the tax-bag. It happened that a man afflicted with an evil spirit had found it, and absconded with it. Januarius, upon discovering his loss, was thrown into great alarm, and filled the town with his enquiries. When all failed, he ventured to require the restitution at the hands of the Bishop, as if he had committed the bag to him. Others would have received the charge with contempt. But German submitted at once to the responsibility, and promised in God's name to restore the money. It was the Sabbath day ; that is, Saturday. German caused the town to be searched with the greatest diligence, but in vain. Three days elapsed—no clue appeared. The tax-gatherer, in tears, pleaded the punishment of death which impended over him. German exhorted him to patience and confidence. Thereupon, he ordered one of those who were possessed with devils to be brought to him. By a strange coincidence, the author of the theft was the first introduced. German examined and questioned him closely, told him that the crime, (whoever had committed it,) could not remain concealed, and adjured the enemy of mankind to disclose the fact. No confession could be extorted as yet. The Bishop then left his house, and proceeded to the church, to celebrate Mass.¹

¹ This would be on Tuesday, if it was three days after Saturday. In fact, every day this office seems to have been performed.

After he had entered, accompanied by the multitude, he gave the usual solemn salutation¹ to the congregation, and fell prostrate to the ground. While he was praying, the prisoner of Satan, who had been brought to the Church, was seen to be raised in the air above the people, and enveloped in a blaze of fire. His cries filled the place, and spread consternation among all. Suddenly, with a loud voice, he called out the name of German, and made public confession of his theft. The Bishop then rose from prayer, advanced to the head of the steps leading to the altar,² and evoked the evil spirit. The bag of money was discovered buried in the ground. The acclamations of the multitude were loud in German's honour, and the report of the action spread rapidly. The afflicted man forthwith recovered the soundness of his mind.

Not long after, a malignant fever infected the town of Auxerre. Its results were imputed, from their violence, to supernatural influence. Children fell the first victims : the glands of their throats unexpectedly swelled, and they were carried off within three days. The malady then attacked every one else, with a rapidity and severity which was compared to the sword of an avenging enemy. Medical resources were exhausted. At last, in despair, the people fled to divine assistance, and sought the intercession of German. He immediately took some oil, blessed it, and had all the sick touched with it. Its efficacy proved instantaneous ; the symptoms of the disease disappeared, and the city was at once delivered from all danger. It appeared, says the writer of the account, that the evil

¹ This salutation would be the "Dominus Vobiscum" probably.

² *Podium* is thus explained by Bosch. Boll. ad locum.

spirits had been the authors of the fever, for one of the demoniacs out of whom German was evoking the devil, at the moment of his last paroxysm, affirmed that the prayers of the Bishop had prevailed in putting them to flight. The sight of his piety and devotedness had provoked their fury to exert itself in tormenting his flock.

It was the custom of German to visit, on alternate days, the Church and the Monastery, to superintend the functions of the Clergy on one hand, and of the Monks on the other. One day, he was prevented from going to the Monastery where his presence was desired, and he excused himself on the plea of unavoidable business. He was not, however, detained so long as he expected, and he resumed his purpose of visiting the brotherhood, thinking to take them by surprise. It happened that in the meantime, in the Monastery, a man possessed with an evil spirit was thrown into one of his fits, in the middle of which he screamed out that German was already at the bank of the river, and could not pass without a boat. The Abbot who had received the refusal of the Bishop, imputed his cries to the evil One. But as he continued in the same assertions, Alodius, (this was the Abbot's name) sent one of his Monks, who brought back a confirmatory report. A boat was immediately dispatched, and the Bishop passed over and was welcomed by all the brothers. When he was informed of what had passed, he fell down to pray, and the Monks imitated him. While they were in this situation, the same fact occurred as was described above ; the demoniac was suddenly raised into the air and suspended by the invisible chains of Satan, to use the language of the narrator.

When they got up from prayer, German evoked the spirit, and healed the man.

In the three instances here described, we evidently remark a family likeness. The power of the Prince of Darkness over mankind is the prominent feature of them. It is well known that exorcisms in the early Church were of frequent occurrence, and they have been enumerated among the miracles of ecclesiastical times with the avowed contempt of some modern writers.¹ Nor is there any way of procuring credit to them among those who are not strongly impressed with the truth "that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness (or rather 'wicked spirits') in high places;"² that is, against the "wiles of the devil." It is a fact, however, which must have weight with serious minds, that few things have been more universally realized in the Christian world for the first fourteen centuries, than the direct, and so to say, personal agency of the devil. Even the cool and cautious Eusebius speaks of Satan in terms strictly applicable to a visible and living enemy. In the eleventh century, one of the most distinguished writers³ of his time fills a great part of his own history with examples of the presence of evil spirits. But these actions of German's were merely the prelude to the greater miracles which he performed subsequently, and which we shall see were more closely parallel with those of our Lord. It would seem they were reserved to the time when he should have received his Apostolic commission, and when contact

¹ See Douglas, in *Essay on Miracles*, p. xxxv.

² Philipp. vi.

³ Guibertus Novingenti.

with paganism and heresy should require a more special manifestation of divine power. And upon enquiry, it will be found perhaps that a great part of those miracles which are considered the most wonderful, were done by men who had to convert nations,—St. Martin, St. Patrick, St. Palladius, St. German.

Two more incidents may here be noticed before we proceed to the more important events of German's life. He was once travelling in winter. Oppressed with fatigue and the effects of his long fasts, he retired towards the evening with his attendants to a deserted ruin not far from his road. The place was said to be infested with evil spirits ; and it was conspicuous for its wild and rugged appearance. He was not however hindered from taking up his abode there for the night. His followers on arriving began to prepare their supper, and sat down to eat. St. German abstained from all food. In the meantime, the Reader¹ read aloud some pious work, after the manner introduced into monasteries, and which still is observed in religious houses. As he continued his task, German fell into a deep sleep. Immediately a spectre appeared before the Reader, and a violent shower of stones beat against the walls of the ruin. The young man alarmed awoke the Bishop, who in the name of Christ adjured the spectre to explain the cause of the visit. The mysterious personage answered, that he, with another, had formerly been the perpetrator of great crimes, for which after death they had remained unburied, and had been deprived of the rest allowed to other departed spirits. German having ascertained

¹ The Reader or Lector was one of the minor clergy in early times.

the spot where the bodies of these wretched men had lain, assembled on the following morning the people of the neighbourhood, and employed them in removing the ruins. After much labour, they found two corpses loaded with iron chains. "Then, we are informed, according to the Christian custom of burial, a pit was made, the chains taken off, linen garments thrown over them, and intercession offered up to obtain rest for the departed and peace for the living." Henceforth the spot was again inhabited and grew into a prosperous and flourishing abode.

During the same journey he retired one evening to the dwelling of some persons of humble condition. Though he could command the attentions of the wealthy and great, yet he often avoided them, and frequented the lower ranks of life. While he was thus lodged, he passed the whole night in prayer, as was his practice after our Lord's example. Day-light broke in, and to his surprise the cock failed to herald in the morning. He asked the reason, and learnt that an obstinate taciturnity had succeeded to the usual cry. Pleased at finding an opportunity of rewarding his hosts, German took some wheat, blessed it, and gave it to some of the birds to eat, whereby he restored their natural faculties. A deed of this kind which might have been forgotten by the rich, was likely to remain fixed in the memory of the poor. The appreciation of any action depends generally on the degree of utility which it conveys to different people, and circumstances which appear trivial to some are important to others. Thus could our Lord adapt His wonderful signs to the wants of men, at one time turning water into wine, at another multiplying the loaves, at another taking a fish for a piece of money which it contained.

CHAPTER X.

Britain in 429, A. D.

“ABOUT this time,” says Constantius, “an embassy came from Britain, which informed the Gallican Bishops that the Pelagian heresy had widely spread among the Britons ; for which reason, they were requested to give their immediate assistance to the Catholic Faith. Thereupon, a large synod was gathered, and by the judgment of all present, German and Lupus were unanimously entreated to defend the cause, as lights of the Christian Church and bishops of Apostolic character, who, though bound to earth by the flesh, dwelt in heaven through their virtues. They, like heroic champions, readily undertook the task, heedless of the labours it involved, and forthwith proceeded to the work.”

In this brief sketch of the causes which occasioned the visit of German to our island, there is much that has exercised the ingenuity of the learned, and still more which requires illustration, to enable the general reader to obtain a definite view of his mission. For the first time, we are here introduced to the people of Britain, in a somewhat abrupt manner. Nor are we accustomed at present to the idea of our nation sending for assistance to France ; and interference from abroad in our religious controversies, is the last thing which most men would welcome. Two things necessarily demand explanation,—the nature of the Political Union of Britain with the rest of the Roman Empire, and the nature of that Religious Unity which bound

together the different parts, including Britain, of Christendom. Both these, it is hoped, will appear, by enquiring as briefly as may be into the state of Britain in the fifth century, the rise and progress of the Pelagian heresy, and into the circumstances of the Council which Constantius mentions. If the history of this period of our history has been considered uninteresting, it is for want of clearness and precision in our popular sources of information. Antiquarian researches are seldom read, and it requires some patience to discern the truth, amid their discordant views. To supply partially the need of this trouble, without pretensions to original investigation, is the chief object of the following pages.

Gildas, a writer who flourished not long after the events here related, tells us that Britain was situated on the other side of the Ocean;¹—there is nothing in the fact but what we all know; but it is worth the while observing, that whereas the Atlantic, among the ancients, received the name of Ocean, the Channel which divides England and France was included under that appellation. Amid the devastations which a civilized age may be said to have spread throughout this rich country, there is still reason for all to admire its beautiful pastures, its luxuriant woods, and green hills. But in Gildas's time, it should seem that nature and art were tempered in that happy manner, which at once made the land habitable and fertile, while it left room for the poet or the hermit to indulge their love

¹ “Trans Oceanum.”—Gildas Ed. Stevenson, 1838. p. 19. Vid. etiam Bed. Ephemeris Oct. 1. and scriptores ætat. passim. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv.

for solitude.¹ He tells us that by the mouths of the Thames and the Severn, the riches of foreign countries were brought into Britain, and thence spread through the land by many minor streams ; that Britain was adorned with twenty-eight large cities, besides other fortified places ; in all which there was a vast display of strong walls, gates, towers, edifices some of which were equally remarkable for their magnitude and their solidity. Another author tells us the names of these twenty-eight cities, and as there are many which the reader may like to recognize, it will not be out of place to give them in the original, as well as the present idiom. It will be remarked the word *Cair* is applied to all. In the British tongue it signified City ; and as in the Roman lists of towns the word *Civitas* was prefixed, so it happened with the British word *Cair*.

1^o *Cair Guorthigern* (a town in Monmouthshire.)

2^o *Cair Guuntguic*, *Norwich* in Norfolk, or *Winwick* in Lancashire.²

3^o *Cair Mincip*, *Verulam*, where the Church of St. Alban's was built, and which was a Roman municipal city, according to Tacitus.

4^o *Cair Ligualid*, *Lugubalia*, in Latin, *Carlisle* in Cumberland.

5^o *Cair Meguaid* (in Montgomeryshire) called by the Romans *Mediolanum*, or *Milan*.

6^o *Cair Colun*, *Colchester*, called by the Romans *Colonia*.

7^o *Cair Ebrauc*, this is the famous town of *York*, which in Latin was *Eboracum*.

8^o *Cair Custoient*, that is the town of *Constantius*.³ “ Here,

¹ Gildas, p. 11 et p. 15. Vid. etiam Ranulph. Higden. Hist. Brit. ed. Gale. p. 197.

² Nennius, p. 62, ed. 1838, Stevenson. Usher. Primord. p. 59, ed. 40. Vid. et Antonin. Itinerarium.

³ Nennius, p. 20.

says Nennius, Constantius the Emperor (the father probably of Constantine the Great) died; that is, near the town of Cair Segeint, or Custoiënt, in Carnarvonshire." There was an inscription in Nennius's time left on his tomb, which bore witness to his death. He had enriched the town greatly, insomuch that there were no poor persons to be found in it. It was called by the Romans Segentium, and also Minmantôn.

9^o Cair Caratauc, *Salisbury*.

10^o Cair Granth, *Cambridge*, (in Gloucestershire, thinks Usher, though others believe it to be the more famous Cambridge.)

11^o Cair Maranguid, called in Latin Mancunium, *Manchester*.

12^o Cair Lundein, *London*, (Londinum) the metropolis of the kingdom.

13^o Cair Ceint, *Canterbury* (Cantuaria.)

14^o Cair Guiragon, *Worcester* (Vignornia.)

15^o Cair Peris, *Porchester*.

16^o Cair Danu, called in Latin Danus, *Doncaster*.

17^o Cair Legion, civitas Legionum, *Chester*.

18^o Cair Guricon, *Warwick*.

19^o Cair Segeint, *Silchester*, near Reading in Berkshire, on the Thames.

20^o Cair Legion guar Usic, *Cair Leon*, on the *Usk*, in Latin Urbs Legionis ad Iscam.

21^o Cair Guent, *Winchester*, called by the Romans Venta Belgarum, (afterwards Wintonia.)

22^o Cair Brithon, *Bristol*.

23^o Cair Lerion, *Leicester*.

24^o Cair Draitou, *Drayton* in Shropshire.

25^o Cair Pensa vel Coyt, *Exeter*.

26^o Cair Urnac, *Wroxeter* in Shropshire, called by the Romans Uriconium.

27^o Cair Celemion, in Somersetshire, *Camalet*.

28^o Cair Luit Coyt, *Lincoln*.

But these twenty-eight cities were by no means all that could pretend to the rank of towns; they were

probably the principal. Gibbon affirms,¹ with apparent truth, that there were ninety-two considerable towns in Britain which had arisen under the protection of the Romans, thirty-three of which were distinguished above the rest by superior privileges. And in fact, Nennius esteemed the minor towns to be countless,² and Bede speaks of twenty strong towns added by Vespasian in one campaign to the rest of the Roman possessions, which implies that there were many besides ; and we have the testimony of Gildas himself, a contemporary, to an important town not mentioned in the list given, namely Bath, which sustained a memorable siege. On the other hand, while these cities spread affluence around and encouraged the progress of civilization, there were not wanting vast ranges of uncultivated ground and woodland, with all the beauty which nature alone can confer. It is almost proverbial that ancient Britain was covered with forests, and the easy growth of trees in this climate would confirm the saying. With all the limitations then which the causes of wealth assigned necessarily require, it is not difficult to enter into the spirit of Gildas when he tells us, “ that Britain was also decorated with broad meadows and plains, hills remarkable for their pleasant sites, and adapted to the highest culture, mountains affording ample pastures to all kinds of cattle, upon which flowers grew of all colours, so as to present a rich picture to the traveller, who might think he beheld a bride adorned with nuptial necklaces and bracelets.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 151. He quotes Richard of Cirencester. *De Situ. Brit.* p. 36.

² “ Innumera,” Nenn. p. 6 — “ Oppida,” Bede de sex. Aetat. 4033 Ann.—“ Badonicus mons.” Gildas, p. 33.

The streams, he continues, are lucid as crystal ; sometimes they wander about the land in abundant channels and with grateful murmuring ; sometimes, as they glide slowly beneath the long shadowy banks, they seem to fall into a deep slumber, forming themselves into lakes of pure and icy water." England, then, in Gildas's time, possessed the charms which it still owns. Nor had it lost them in those of Bede. England was still the beauteous picture of Gildas.¹

On reading an account of St. German's deeds and miracles in Britain, most men would naturally ask themselves such questions as the following : Were the Britons, as they are often represented, in such a state of ignorance and simplicity, that the grossest acts of deception might be practised among them without fear of being detected ? Had they nothing of that distrustful spirit which wealth and soft living introduce ? Had they so little correspondence with foreign nations, and were they so ill acquainted with their faith, customs, and life, as to receive any one as an apostle or a teacher because he assumed these characters, and claimed deference and belief ? Or again, might the subsequent report and account of his deeds in Britain be so little subject abroad to the criticism of experienced judges, that any tale might be circulated without fear of exposure, just as one at the present day might publish any relation of regions in Africa unexplored by all but himself ? It is believed then that history furnishes an absolute negative to these questions. And before historical evidence, there is this antecedent probability, that all ages of the world, especially those which

¹ " Et signis te *picta* Britannia textit."—Ephemeris Oct. 1. Et Introd. Eccl. Hist.

have succeeded the preaching of the Gospel, have been much more on a level in intellectual and political advantages than is often supposed. Man is of an elastic nature ; circumstances must be very untoward to check its expansion. They were not such by any means in the fifth century in Britain, as will be seen.

Britain in ancient times seems to have meant that island which now consists of England, Scotland and Wales. With less precision apparently it sometimes included Hibernia or Ireland. Nennius¹ gives the names of four races of inhabitants, the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, the Britons. Three islands among those which are situated near the coast of Britain claimed the highest importance, the Isle of Wight, then called Inisgneith ; the Isle of Man, or Eubonia, or Manau ; and the Orkney Islands to the north, which went by the name of Ore. From these geographical statistics it was usually said "that the governing power administered justice to Britain and its three Isles."² Without stopping to enquire what truth there might be in the statement that the Britons were descended from the Trojans, like their neighbours the Gauls ;³ that is, by the posterity of Eneas who settled at Alba Longa ; or whether their name was derived from Brutus the grandson of Ascanius : it is more to the present purpose to show that in the fourth and fifth century Britain was part of Gaul. The generic term Gaul, as a portion of the Empire, included France, Great Britain, Spain and Portugal. It seems to be agreed by learned men that the same language at this time was

¹ Nennius, p. 7. Ed. 1838.

² "Judicavit Britanniam cum tribus insulis." Ibid.

³ Vid. Dubos, tom. i. ch. i.

spoken by the natives in Gaul Proper and Britain. The Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had twenty-nine provinces under him, seven in Spain, seventeen in Gaul, strictly so called, and five in Britain.¹ There was a Vicarius, or what we should call a Lieutenant-Governor over each of these countries. The seat of government in Britain was at London or York, sometimes the one, sometimes the other. *Caer Leon* in Wales seems to have ranked next.²

A residence of 400 years on the part of the Romans had placed the nation on the same footing as the most important provinces of the empire. Dacia, Scythia, or Sarmatia, were only occasionally visited by Roman armies, and though often ranked among tributary provinces, would feel in a small measure the influence of Roman civilization. But Britain was a regular division of the Empire, subject to an administration similar in all respects to that of other parts. Legions to the number of twelve had been kept there for the repression of external as well as internal disturbance.³ Every city had its magistrates and civil codes like municipal towns elsewhere. The imperial court itself had been often fixed there. Julius Cæsar entered the mouth of the Thames three times, according to Nennius.⁴ On the last occasion he fixed his camp at *Trinovantum* 47 years before Christ. This of course was no regular settlement. But it opened the way to one. In the year 48 after Christ, the emperor Claudius came and reigned several months

¹ Valerius Not. Gall. p. 69. Buchanan, Cluverius, Camden. Notitia imp. p. 13. ad Not. Dignitat. vid. quoque, p. 95.

² Stillingfleet, p. 199 and p. 220.

³ Alford An. ad an. 401. ubi Camden.

⁴ P. 17 and 18.

in Britain,¹ according to the same author and Bede, and penetrated as far as the Orkney Islands, which he made tributary. In the year 167, Lucius, a British king, with the rest of the petty sovereigns,² received an embassy from the Roman Emperor and Pope Elentherius, whence it appears that the government of the land was divided between the ancient kings of the Britons and the Roman settlers. But in the year 208, when Septimius Severus carried on the Caledonian war, and afterwards under Caracalla his son,³ the Island was definitively invested with all the privileges of a Roman province, which it preserved till the time we are engaged in.

Britain became a favoured country. Men often rose first to importance among her downs and her plains—sometimes gained the imperial diadem in her defence; and they loved to return to the cradle of their glory. Septimius Severus died at York. Constantius died in Wales. Constantine the Great was born at York, and educated in the same country. Afterwards usurpers issued from the Island or reigned in it. With the exception of the continual aggressions of the barbarians—the Scots, Picts and Saxons—everything tended to increase the prosperity of the nation. During the period which elapsed from Claudius's reign to that of Honorius in the fifth century, Whitaker, in his learned History of Manchester,⁴ thinks the British monarchs of several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, and in spite of Gibbon,

¹ De Sex Ætat. 4007.

² “Reguli.”—Nennius, p. 18. Bede de sex Æt. 4132, (not Eucharisto but Eleutherio.)

³ Gibbon vol. i.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 247–257.

“the public and private kings” of Gildas,¹ and passages of Nennius,² seem to favour the opinion. An island under equal circumstances must always be favourable to the effects of peace. The Romans brought thither with them their luxuries, arts, and sciences, which were essential to their existence, and the important colony had become the exact copy of the mother country. What Calcutta is now to London, London or York was to Rome. But the author just quoted will best stand in the place of other evidence.⁵ “At this signal period (that now under review), he says, the five provinces in general of our country seem to have advanced very high in the scale of political perfection. And they even seem to have attained a more considerable degree of refinement, and to have actually existed in a more flourishing condition than any of them knew for many, very many centuries afterwards. All the improvements of the Romans had necessarily been introduced among us. Our mines were worked with the greatest skill. And our towns were decorated with baths, temples, market-places and porticos. Our architects were even so remarkably numerous and good, that a body of them was sent by Constantius into Gaul, to rebuild the ruined Augustodunum with greater magnificence. And so universally diffused were the riches of the kingdom, that even after the lapse of many centuries, and merely from the scatterings of negligence or the concealments of fear, the sites of all the greater provinces remain generally to the present times inexhaustible mines of Roman wealth. So absolutely false is the charge of barbarism against the Britons of this

¹ Gildas, p. 33.² Nennius, p. 38.³ Tom. ii. p. 6. Hist. of Manchester.

period, which has been regularly transmitted from pen to pen through a succession of 1200 years.”¹ This last sentence seems more particularly directed against the early pages of Hume’s history, which are very inaccurate and insufficient, as he elsewhere shows.

However, that this prosperity of the Britons remained unimpaired till the great invasion of the Saxons, which was subsequent to St. German’s time, is clear from the nature of the devastations which these barbarians then exercised ; for Gildas tells us their fury was spent upon the monuments of Roman and British wealth, their columns, towers, streets, high walls and fine houses.² And though towards the beginning of the fifth century the Emperor was obliged to recall, as we shall see, the legions that guarded Britain to protect other portions of his dominions, yet it was not to be expected that in twenty, or at most forty years, all traces of Italian refinement would have been effaced. Numerous alliances and permanent settlements of foreigners, would have taken place during the long period of the Roman connexion ; and as at this time the natives of Gaul had almost merged their nationality into the Latin citizenship,³ so this island, which had been conquered by the same general was now as much Roman as British. Furthermore, a passage of Nennius, shows that in the later years of Vortigern, that is, about 450, notwithstanding the many departures for the defence of Rome, there was still a considerable number of Romans,⁴ who kept that tyrant in awe.

¹ See also Alford. *Ann. ad an. 401.* “*Romani cum insulam subjugârunt, &c.*”

² See Gildas, p. 15 and p. 32.

³ See Salvian *De Gub. Dei. passim.*

⁴ P. 24. One MS. adds, “*Those that remained there.*”—See Ed. 1838.

During those forty years which followed the retreat of the Romans, Gibbon relates that the artificial fabric of civil and military government was dissolved,¹ and the independent country was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zozi-mus, he continues, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius are addressed to the *cities* of Britain ; and he proceeds to give the description of this government, which was essentially Roman in its forms, and highly indicative of the advance of British civilization.

If these inductions be true, it would follow as a matter of course that learning and literature were in a flourishing condition in this land. And in fact we do find the same state of things in this respect as in Gaul.² Schools and colleges were instituted in all the chief towns, and the usual rewards offered to professors and persons who distinguished themselves. Hence it could be said by a contemporary writer that the Britons were consummate lawyers.³ Christianity, as elsewhere, increased the ardour for intellectual pursuits, and learned divines, as well as acute disputants, sprung up in the island. Fastidius, Bishop of London, flourished about this time. He has left some writings which are still extant. Faustus, afterwards Bishop of Riez, one of the most eminent writers of his day, was a native of Britain. Pelagius, (no honour doubtless, but still a case in point,) was also born and educated here. Thus the Bishops and Priests of this country, though poor, were qualified in all other respects to attend the debates of foreign councils as well as those at home. Some were present

¹ T. iv. p. 151.

² Stillingfleet. Origin. 220.

³ "Causidicos Britannos."

at Arles in 316, A.D. And our churches attracted the attention of men a thousand miles distant, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome.¹

In the foregoing observations, little has been said which does not strictly apply to the time when St. German lived and came over to Britain. To complete the view of the political state of the country, a rapid outline of the leading events since the beginning of the fifth century is necessary. Those who desire further knowledge of the preceding annals of Britain must consult other sources, among which, the life of St. Augustine, lately published, will naturally commend itself.

By the continued aggressions of the Goths and other barbarians upon Italy and even Rome, chiefly under the conduct of Alaric and Radagaisus, the Roman legions were forced to leave Britain, about the year 401, to defend the centre of the empire.² Thus the island was left destitute of the chief obstacle to the invasion of the Picts, Scots and Saxons, which last, we shall see, were already known for their piratical exploits. Nor did these enemies lose the opportunity afforded them of plundering the northern boundary.³ It was a proverb, says Gildas,⁴ that the Britons were as little brave in war as they were faithful in peace. He returns often to the same charge, which is perhaps not to be accepted without many limitations. He himself had said that the expedition of the usurper Maximus into Gaul some years before had stripped Britain of her youth, which was the first signal for the attacks of the Picts and

¹ Alford. 401. Stillingfleet 178.

² Vide Alford ad an. 401.

³ "Britanni non sunt in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles."

⁴ Gildas de Excidio, 15 p. also p. 25.

Scots.¹ However, so it is that little effectual resistance was made against the barbarians.

Opinions differ as to the abode of these people. It is certain that the Picts lived in what is now called Scotland, but whether they occupied the whole or only the southern part is not clear.² Gildas clearly tells us the Picts were to the north of Britain, the Scots to the west (a circione), which serves to prove the Scots to be the same as the natives of Ireland or Hibernia, and such also is Usher's opinion.³ It appears they were assisted in their incursions by Norwegians and Danes.

In the meantime, about the year 407, A. D., Constantine (whom none will confound with Constantine the Great or his son) was raised in Britain from the rank of private soldier to the dignity of Emperor, at the death of one Gratianus, who had been in a similar way elevated to the throne, and had been killed after a reign of four months. Constantine crossed over into Gaul, which he rapidly reduced, but was not long after conquered himself, and put to death by the generals of Honorius, the lawful emperor. This prince was now no longer able to guard his distant provinces, and in 409 he was under the necessity of exhorting the Britons to defend themselves as best they could, against their northern foes. However, in 411, the Romans, induced by the repeated requests of the Britons, again took the command of the island, and legions, with Victorinus the Prefect, were sent there to protect it. Ten years after, a fresh supply was sent by Honorius; and an engage-

¹ Gildas de Excidio, p. 20.

² Ibid. p. 20, 21.

³ Usher Prim. Index. Chron. p. 1096, alias Alford. Annal, quem vide 406, 407.

ment took place, according to Gildas, with the Picts and Scots,¹ in which a great number of them were killed, the rest driven away, and the captives recovered. A coin on which this victory is commemorated, has been produced by Camden the antiquarian. It was at this time, apparently, that the first wall was made,² by the Romans and Britons conjointly, across the strip of land which divides Edinburgh from Dunbarton, between the Frith of Forth and the river Clyde, or as it is in the ancient descriptions between Bodotria and Glotta. The emperor Valentinian had by this* time succeeded to Honorius, and the Romans again were recalled to protect him. As a matter of course, the Picts and Scots began their depredations afresh; they broke down the wall, which had been made too lightly, of mere earth and rubbish,⁵ and poured into the province. Once more the Romans were entreated, once more they returned. Aetius, the famous general of the empire, who afterwards conquered Attila, at Châlons, and at this time governed Gaul, sent this last succour to the distressed Britons, with his lieutenant Gallio. The barbarians retired, and a new wall was built, more solid than the former, and apparently in a different line of country, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith. It was then that the Romans, as Gildas tells us,⁴ having admonished the Britons to look to themselves alone for defence, assisted them “in building forts at intervals along the coast, towards the southern part of the ocean, (meaning the English Channel) where

¹ Vid. Alford ad an. 428.

² Vid. Usher, Index Chron. p. 1096.

³ Magis cespite quam lapide.—Bed. de Sex Æt. vid. et Hist.

⁴ De Excidio, p. 24.—Alford. an. 421.

their ships were stationed, because from that quarter also the fierce barbarians were expected, (alluding to the Saxons, who infested those seas) and then bid farewell to the natives, never again to return to the island." This last event took place not more than three years, according to Usher, seven according to Alford, before St. German came to Britain. At six different times, had a wall across the island been built or restored by the Romans ; first by Agricola, then by Hadrian, afterwards by Septimius Severus, again by Diocletian, then by Theodosius, and lastly, by the officers of Honorius and Valerian. Henceforth the Picts and Scots harassed with impunity the exposed regions of northern Britain. On one occasion, however, we shall see, a severe check they met with at the hands of the natives, at the time St. German came over.

In the mean time, a king of the Britons had come into notice. Vortigern is a name which, like that of king Arthur subsequently, stands out as the representative, so to say, of a period. In the ancient chronicles, from Gildas downwards, he seems to gather around him almost every event of importance that happened between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons. If there is a special evil spirit that brings about revolutions in states, Vortigern would be the personification of it. The nature of the circumstances, division within, expectation without, are reasons merged in the odium of one individual character. Vortigern introduced the Saxons into England. Vortigern's crimes brought down the vengeance of heaven. Such is the theme of early historians. Vortigern, in Nennius, or the work which goes by his name, written in 858, A. D., and all those who have

borrowed from his history, is closely connected with the name of St. German ; and as Vortigern is represented in colours which often remind us of Saul or Ahab, so St. German seems to exemplify the opposite traits of Samuel or Elijah. Here is a field upon which one would naturally expect the disciples of that allegorical school which has lately prevailed so extensively in Germany and elsewhere, to find a wide range for their fancies. It would not be surprising if the personality of Vortigern were denied altogether, (too gross an attempt would it be to deny that of St. German) ; or if he were supposed to be a mere type of a divided, unsettled, and decaying constitution, one generic name to represent a multitude of petty tyrants, which would necessarily spring up when all central government was broken up. But let us distinguish matter of fact from matter of conjecture. There is undoubtedly much mystery hanging about the person of Vortigern ; but Vortigern is, nevertheless, a true historic character. When the Roman government was withdrawn from Britain, in 409, (according to Bede)¹ the natives took the administrative power into their own hands. “The hereditary lords of ample possessions,”² to borrow Gibbon’s admissible inferences, “who were not oppressed with the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war.....Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings, and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had

¹ Bede Epitome Eccles. Hist.

² Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 152.

been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars..... The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels ; and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities, and to claim a rank among the *tyrants* who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government." Gildas and St. Jerome both inform us that Britain at this time was a province fertile in tyrants. Among these was Vortigern,¹ before he became king of Britain. According to Alford, he first was a chief among the Danmonii, and called Count of Cornwall, and sometimes Consul of the Gevissei. He had three sons, Vortimer, Categirn, and Pascent. About the year 438, it should seem Vortigern was placed at the head of the many petty kings who divided the land, that he might oppose the united strength of the nation against the northern invaders. Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, are uniform in calling him the sovereign of the country, while, at the same time, they indicate the weight which the inferior princes, according to their relative importance, must have had in the public councils and measures of the state.

¹ Vid. Gild. p. 15 et p. 33. Alford, ad. ann. 438 ; vid. Nennius, p. 39.

CHAPTER XI.

Pelagianism in Britain.

WE must now pass on to consider the state of the British Church in the fifth century with that signal departure from its purity in the heresy of Pelagianism.

What the consequences of the cessation of Diocletian's persecution proved to be to the British Church, as well as to the rest of Christendom, are explained in the following words of Gildas : " The Britons raised again their Churches which had been levelled to the soil ; they laid the foundations of sacred edifices in honour of the holy martyrs, constructed, achieved and exhibited them in every quarter as trophies of victory. They celebrated the days of Festivals, and with pure hearts and mouths received and administered the sacraments ; as children at the breast of their mother, so did all the sons of the Church exult in her bosom."¹ It is well known that under the government of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, Britain and the western provinces in general suffered much less than the eastern empire from the Edicts of persecution.² But it was some time before the clemency of that prince found occasion to exert itself. While Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, reigned in the west, the fire of persecution raged vehemently in the provinces of his administration. The cruel minister of the tyrant's fury, Rictiovarus,³ filled Gaul with the blood of Martyrs ;

¹ P. 19.² Vid. Eusebius ad fin. Hist.³ Vid. Anquetil, tom. i.

Bale and Treves were amongst the most suffering cities ; in the latter town so many were put to death, that they ever after went by the name of the Innumerable. We have had occasion already to advert to this persecution in the case of the youth St. Justinus, whose death by some mistake apparently has been coupled with the names of both Rictiovarus and St. Amator, the former of which lived nearly a hundred years before Amator. It was in this persecution that St. Alban also received the crown of martyrdom in Britain. Under Constantius, whose wife, Helena, was a Christian, the Church enjoyed peace. This prince having come to the dignity of Augustus, was enabled to desist from all harsh measures enjoined by the decrees of the other Emperors ; and favour took the place of toleration which he had always shown. However, it was not till the edicts of persecution were repealed, that Britain, like other parts of the empire, fully recognized the claims of the Christian religion. Before that time, says Gildas, "the precepts of Christ were but lukewarmly espoused by the inhabitants, though some accepted them in their entirety, and others gave their assent less strongly."¹ But an important accession to the triumph of the Church took place in the elevation of Constantine to the empire, and in Britain, as elsewhere, the conquering Labarum brought over the world to the spouse of Christ.

As a general fact the Arian heresy received less encouragement in the Latin Church than in the Greek, and though many barbarian nations introduced it in the fifth century, yet it was never long supported by the lawful Roman governors of the west, and uniformly repudiated by the ancient population.² Still it had its votaries in

¹ P. 16.

² Vid. Salvian Gub. Dei.

every country, and Britain did not altogether escape the infection.¹ But a more pernicious influence was in reserve for this land, which began to be felt in the beginning of the fifth century in the propagation of Pelagius' principles. In the meantime the external aspect of the British Church might on the whole answer to the following biassed description: "The British Church, says Gibbon with his usual irony, might be composed of thirty or forty Bishops, with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor) would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest as well as the temper of the clergy was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only counsels that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the Bishops, the important affairs of the State, as well as of the Church, might be freely debated, differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that in moments of extreme danger, a Pendragon or Dictator was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted however by zeal and superstition, and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy which they abhorred as the peculiar disgrace of their native country."² This political as well as ecclesiastical importance

¹ See Bede Lib. i. c. 8. and Gildas 19. ² Vol. iv. p. 154.

of the clergy in the fifth century, which was indeed a prominent feature in the condition of Britain, resembled in many respects that which was afterwards witnessed in Spain ;¹ and about the time that St. German flourished at Auxerre, it was frequently brought into notice by the repeated synods which were convened to stop the progress of Pelagianism.

There has been much discussion about the birth-place of Pelagius. Yet it seems pretty clearly established that he was a Briton. Bede has expressly declared this, and he is supported by St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Prosper, contemporary writers.² But from which of the British provinces he came is not so certain. The early historians of monasteries make him Abbot of Bangor, in Wales ; and his original name is supposed to have been Morgan, which signifies Sea Born, and which he dropped for that of Pelagius answering to it,³ when he went to Rome. There is likewise some uncertainty with regard to the exact date of his birth. Probably he went abroad early in life, after having for some time studied in the retirement of Bangor ; for he undoubtedly was reputed a Monk in his own time.⁴ Enquiring and ingenious men generally went to Rome to sharpen their natural talents ; and Pelagius, among the number, repaired thither. He lived a long time in comparative obscurity, though acquainted with St. Augustine. For many years he ad-

¹ See Guizot's Europe, 6ième Leçon, p. 116, &c.

² Bed. Lib. i. c. 10. August. Ep. 106, ad Paulam Hier ad Ctesiph. p. 256, tom. ii. See Alford. ad an. 404.

³ Stillingfl. Orig. 187.

⁴ Bede. Lib. i. ch. 10. Isidore of Pelusium wrote to Pelagius the *Monk*, and St. Chrys. called him *Monachus*. Cellier, Stillingfleet and Collier.

hered with zeal to the Orthodox Faith. Had this not been the case, St. Augustine would not have written to him in the following manner: "I return you many thanks for endeavouring to please me with your correspondence, and for conveying to me such certain proof of your soundness in doctrine. May the Lord reward you. Ever remain the same. And live with Him to eternity, beloved and longed-for brother, &c."¹

While at Rome, Pelagius superintended the studies of several young men, among whom were Celestius and Julianus, who afterwards became conspicuous as leaders of the new Sect. Jacobus and Timasius were also his disciples and subsequently were restored to the Church. During this residence, Pelagius wrote his short Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles and Letters to Melania and Demetrias. He was still considered orthodox, and his reputation was now rapidly increasing. "A man of learning and sense, and what is more, a very pious man and a Christian of no ordinary rank?"—such are the epithets which were applied to him.² But we may question the foundation, or rather sincerity of his profession of piety, when we consider that he is represented on other occasions as a sensual and voluptuous man.⁵

Prosper Aquitanus determines the year 413 as the time when he first gave publicity to his errors, about five years before German was elected Bishop. Honorius and Arcadius then divided the empire between them. "Pelagius, says Bede,⁴ was seconded by Julia-

¹ August. in *Gestis Palæstinæ in causa Pelag.*

² Aug. de *Gest. Palest.* Collier, B. i.

³ Isid. *Pelus.*—Orosius *Apol. c. 27.* Apud Stilling.

⁴ Collier's transl.

nus of Campania, an ambitious man, and who thought himself mortally disobliged by the loss of a Bishopric. St. Augustine, and the rest of the Catholic Fathers, appeared vigorously against this dangerous novelty. However, their answers were not successful enough to silence Pelagius and his adherents ; but on the other hand, the distraction seemed to rise upon opposition, and gain ground by being confuted and exposed."

Such were the general features of Pelagianism abroad, but the promulgators of it in Britain come more within the present purpose. Neither Pelagius nor Celestius visited Britain after they had obtained notoriety. This at least is the general opinion. Pelagius, it is said, was an old man before he became famous. However, that his heresy spread far and wide in the island is positively asserted by Constantius and Bede, two good authorities.¹ Agricola, son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, was the first public advocate of it in Britain.² About the time when he spread his tenets, edicts had been issued, first by Honorius in 418, and afterwards by Valentinian in 425, proscribing the Pelagian heresy, and they had been carried into execution with great severity in Gaul.³ Popes Zozimus and Bonifacius had armed the secular power ; they are not however responsible for the excesses committed. It was in consequence of these edicts that Agricola fled from Gaul and came over into Britain.⁴ He did not obtain a hearing at

¹ Bede, Lib. i. ch. 7. Constant. ad locum. Prosper Chron.

² Usher. Primord. 319. Carte's Hist. p. 182. vol. i. Ed. Fol.

³ Stillingfl. 190. Alford. annos. 418-19. (The latter date is uncertain.)

⁴ Agricola has been confounded erroneously with a certain Leporius who was in Gaul in the South. See Alford. Usher. Still. Collier.

first. The Britons were ever good Catholics. Little encouragement had been given to Arianism ; and now Pelagianism met with no ordinary difficulties. But so subtle and plausible were the arts employed, that by degrees they succeeded in spreading it almost over the whole island.¹ Whether it was received by so great a number of persons as might correspond with the extent of country it occupied is not perfectly clear. On one hand it was much countenanced, on the other it was vigorously opposed. One may safely affirm the Bishops in general fought against it ; and conjecture that many of the rich and of the enterprizing youth undertook its defence.² Several synods were convened to stop the progress of the disease. But there was need of some special instrument to reach the roots of the canker. Against common and temporary heterodoxy the Church could find resources in her mere constitutions and traditions ; but for deep and philosophic heresy she required the aid of those doctors and shining lights which are raised up for one special purpose and perhaps for that only. Pelagianism in its grosser form would at once revolt serious and religious minds. But Semi-Pelagianism, which approached nearer to the language of the Church, though it concealed a dangerous meaning, naturally imposed upon many and perplexed some of the most zealous and eminent men in Christendom. Its success, which was extensive, was moreover due in a great measure to the extravagant opinions of the Predestinarians, who, apparently snatching up hastily some

¹ “ Totam fere Britanniam Pelagianam pestem occupavisse.” St. Lupi. Vit. apud Bolland. et Usserium, 319. See Tillem. tom. xv. 16.

² Compare Constantius’s remarks, and Bede Lib. i. c. 17.

principles of St. Augustine without observing their connexion with others of the same Father, built up a structure of Fatalism very opposite to the intention and distinct statements of the Bishop of Hippo.¹

As the limits of a heresy can seldom be defined, and one runs into another when fully drawn out, and none has any absolute existence, as being founded solely upon a negative of the truth, the clearest notion which can be given of the outward character of Pelagianism in the world, will be derived from the language of those who represent the general impression it produced. Sigebert, the historian, who compiled from early sources, tells us that Pelagius asserted, "That every man, by his own merits, can be saved without grace ; every one is directed to righteousness by his own will ; infants are born without original sin, and are as guiltless as Adam was before his fall ; therefore, they are to be baptized, not in order to be loosed from sin, but to be admitted by adoption into the kingdom of God ; and should they not be baptized, still they will obtain a blessed eternity, apart from the kingdom of God."² St. Prosper, who was a theologian as well as a historian, confirms this view as a whole. "Pelagius the Briton," he says, "published the doctrine which goes by his name, against the grace of Christ, teaching that every one is directed to righteousness by his own will ; and receives grace in proportion to his merits ; that Adam's sin hurt himself but did not bind his posterity ; that those who will may be free from all sin ; that all little children are born as innocent as the first man was before his transgression, and are to

¹ Consult Guiz. France, Stillingfleet Orig.

² Sigebert, Chron. ad an. 404, apud Alford.

be baptized, not in order to be delivered from sin, but to be honoured with the sacrament of adoption.”¹

The necessity of grace, then, was the leading point concerning which Pelagius erred. Accordingly, Bede, describing the heresy by its prominent feature, observes, that the author of it began to spread his tenets “against the assistance of grace.” These short statements are sufficient to show that other important errors might flow from the same source. Thus, the transmission of original guilt from Adam to all his posterity, the efficacy of baptism, the weakness of human nature, were in one sense consequences of the denial of grace, and in another were the same thing, inasmuch as what is virtually contained in any thing, is one and the same with it. Which opinion was the father of the rest, if such distinction may be made, need not perhaps be asked, as no thought has any proper existence apart from its relation with others ; and what poor abstractions men make, are best understood by the concrete ideas or systems to which they relate.²

One more author shall be cited, whose testimony on the subject of Pelagianism cannot well be passed over.³

“The Heresy,” says St. Augustine, “of the Pelagians, the most recent of all at present, sprung from Pelagius the monk. His disciple, Celestius, followed him so closely, that the partisans of both are also called Celestians. These men showed such enmity to the grace of God—“by which we are predestinated unto

¹ In Prosper Chron. ad an. 414, apud Alford.

² For more details, vid. Usher, p. 218, Prim. Ed. 4to. et Collier, p. 96, tom. i. from St. Aug. Gestis Pal. et Pecato. Orig.

³ From St. Augustine's work upon the Heresies. Heresies, 88.

the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ to Himself,"¹ "and by which we are delivered from the power of darkness, that we might believe in Him, and be translated into His kingdom,"² to which purpose it is said, "No one cometh to me, unless it be given unto him of my Father ;"³ and "by which love is shed abroad in our hearts,"⁴ "that faith may work by love"⁵—that without this grace they believe man can accomplish all the divine commands. Now if this were true, in vain would the Lord seem to have said, "Without me ye can do nothing."⁶ However, Pelagius being blamed by the brethren for assigning nothing to the aid of divine grace in the performance of God's precepts, yielded so far to their reproaches as was compatible with not placing grace before (*præponeret*) free-will, while, with faithless craftiness, he lowered the former, (*supponeret*) saying that grace was given to men, that by means of it the things which were ordered to be done by free-will might be more easily fulfilled. And by the words, 'might be more easily fulfilled,' he meant, of course, to imply, that though the difficulty would be greater, yet men might, without divine grace, obey the divine commands. Moreover, the same grace of God, without which we can do nothing good, they say exists only in the free-will, which our nature, without any previous merits received from Him, inasmuch as God only assists us so far by His laws and doctrine, as to teach us what we ought to do, and what to hope for ; and not, forsooth, through the gift of His Spirit to enable us to do what we have learnt to do. And by this gift they allow, indeed, that knowledge is granted

¹ Eph. i. 5.² Coloss. i. 13.³ John vi. 65.⁴ Rom. vi. 5.⁵ Gal. v. 6.⁶ John xv. 5.

to us of God, whereby our ignorance is dispelled, but deny that love is given, whereby we live piously ; as if knowledge, which without love puffeth up, might be called the gift of God, and love itself, which so edifieth that knowledge puff not up, were not the gift of God. They make void also the prayers which the Church offers up, whether for infidels and those who resist the teaching of God, to obtain their conversion to God, or for the faithful, to procure increase of faith to them, and perseverance in the faith. For these things, they affirm men do not receive from God, but have them from themselves, since they say that the grace which delivers us from impiety, is given according to our merits. This doctrine, indeed, Pelagius, from fear of being himself condemned by the episcopal tribunal in Palestine, was forced to condemn ; however, in his later works, we find him teaching it. To this extent even do they go, that they say that the life of the just in this world is free from all sin ; and consequently, that the Church of Christ is perfected in this mortal state, so as to be without spot or wrinkle ;¹ as if she were not Christ's Church who cries to God all over the earth, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'² They also deny that children born of Adam, according to the flesh, (*secundum Adam carnaliter natos*) contract by their first birth the infection of the old death. For they assert that they are born without any bond of original sin, inasmuch that there is nothing whatever that needs being remitted to them by a second birth ; but that they are baptized, in order that being adopted by regeneration, they may be admitted into the kingdom of God, that is, transferred from what is good to

¹ Eph. v. 27.² Matt. vi. 12.

what is better, and not by this renewal absolved from the evil of any ancient bond. For even should they not be baptized, they promise to them, out indeed of the kingdom of God, a life of their own devising, (*vitam suam*) which shall nevertheless be eternal and blessed. They also say that Adam himself, even if he had not sinned, would have died in the body, and that he did not die, as it happened, by the just effects of guilt, but by the condition of nature. Some other things also are imputed to them ; but these are they chiefly on which the rest, either all, or nearly all, seem to depend."

Those who have paid attention to the controversies which have divided the world concerning Grace and Free-will, will not be surprised that men of learning and real holiness should have been over-reached at times by the subtleties of Semi-Pelagianism, without internally assenting to its perversions. St. Jerome we know imposed a lasting silence on his tongue, for having once given too favourable an ear to Pelagius himself. And other good men might occasionally use language which was offensive to dogmatic accuracy, and yet was innocent in them. Of this class, as it is said, was Fastidius the Briton, who lived at the time we are considering. He was surnamed Priscus, and was Bishop of London, the oldest see probably of England. Some who have strained a little the exclusiveness of the Augustinian theology, as Cardinal Norris and Tillemont, use harsh terms with regard to the work of Fastidius which has come down to us, and is entitled "A Treatise of Christian Life.¹ But our

¹ See this work in vi. vol. August. Opera, ad finem, Alford, Cressy, Usher, Stillingfleet, Collier, Bede, Pitts.

English writers of different schools, are nearly all agreed in defending him. Gennadius, a very early writer,¹ has bestowed great praise on Fastidius, and is followed by Trithemius, a writer prior to the schism of the sixteenth century. He calls him "a man learned in the Holy Scriptures, distinguished for his life and manners, and eminent for his eloquence and talents."

Faustus, another Briton of the same time, who became in process of time Abbot of Lerins, and Bishop of Riez in France, has been also thought to entertain Semi-Pelagian views. Yet even Cardinal Norris, before mentioned, admits that he was revered as a Saint in the church of Riez, and his name was preserved in the calendar of the Gallican Church. It was struck out long after by Molanus, and Baronius the great annalist followed him, but upon admonition restored it.² One Martyrology observes that "his books are piously and learnedly written, and that miracles are said to have been wrought by him."³ However Faustus is no obscure character in history, for he took a prominent part in the controversies of the time, and had the charge of drawing up the Acts of a Council assembled on the subject of heresy.⁴

On the whole, it is certain that the Bishops in Britain opposed Agricola and his followers by the most strenuous measures.⁵ But though they assembled synod after synod, they were unable to suppress the heresy, and finally resolved to apply to foreign assistance.

¹ Gennad. Catalog. ² Hist. Pelag. lib. ii. p. 297.

³ Vid. Bolland. Acta. Sanct. 16th Jan.

⁴ Comp. Sidon. Apol. Lit. ix. Ep. 3-9. Ruric. Epis. 2. lib. i.

⁵ Alford, ad. an. 420. Bede, lib. i. c. 17.

CHAPTER XII.

The Council of Troyes.

SUCH were the events which preceded the mission of German to England. But we have, lastly, to state what was the nature of the authority he received, and what is known concerning the synod to which Constantius, our original informer, refers. Much discussion has been raised about this very point. It has been thought by many, that the question whether the British Churches were dependent upon the Roman See or were not, rests, in a great measure, upon the evidence relating to this circumstance. We shall first put before the reader that account which will here be considered genuine, and then state some of the objections.

Before the English Bishops applied for help abroad, Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, had been over to Britain, apparently not having, as yet, received his regular commission of Converter of the heathen in the north of the Island,¹ and while he was yet Deacon.

Palladius was a Greek by birth,² and attached to the Roman See. When he returned to Rome, he carried with him the news of the danger to which the Church was exposed from the growing evil of Pelagianism, and possibly was the bearer of the intelligence to the Gallican clergy on the part of the Britons. When he arrived

¹ Vid. apud Alford Annal. 429.

² Usher thinks he was not a Greek, but this is of no importance.

at Rome, he represented to Celestine, who was then Pope, the state of that part of Britain which is now called England and Wales, as well as of those districts which he had purposely visited.¹ Urged by his counsels, Celestine communicated his own intentions to the Gallican Bishops, who either, upon the strength of the message, immediately convoked a synod; or when the communication came, were already assembled, in order not to lose time in succouring their Christian brethren in Britain. This synod was held at Troyes, in Champagne, where St. Lupus was Bishop, in the autumn of 429, and the Gallican Prelates, after due consideration, elected German of Auxerre to go over to Britain as Apostle, with the authority of the Roman See, and joined to him Lupus, the Bishop of Troyes.² Whether Celestine proposed German for the examination of the Council, in accordance with the information he had obtained of his signal piety and wisdom, or whether he left free choice to the assembled Bishops to elect whomsoever they chose, we are not strictly told. But the first hypothesis is probably the true one, and agrees well with the unanimous consent of the bishops in appointing him.³ It will be seen, by reference to the passage of Constantius given at the beginning of a former chapter, that there is nothing in the view here taken which offers violence to his expressions, though there are some things which, in the brief description

¹ Vid. Prosper Chron. ad an. 429, and *Contra Collatorem*, ch. 41, 42.

² Vice suâ, i. e. Cælestini.

³ It is impossible to say whether Lupus had the same direct authority from the Pope. Prosper does not mention him in this connexion. More probably, he was the proper appointment of the Synod.

he has given, are not mentioned by him. On the other hand, his omissions have been supplied from the authority of St. Prosper of Aquitain,¹ himself a witness even nearer to the times than Constantius, a more precise and less poetical writer, inasmuch as he was composing a chronology, and one who had closer connexion with the Bishop of Rome than any other Gallican author, at the same time that he was necessarily conversant with the affairs of his own country.

The objections to the account here given, and which have been urged with the greatest force by Bishop Stillingfleet,² are drawn up concisely by Collier³ in his Ecclesiastical History in the following manner. "I have observed," he says, "that the orthodox Britons applied to the Gallican Bishops to reinforce them against the Pelagians, and that Germanus and Lupus were sent by a deputation of a synod in Gaul; but it is objected on the other side that Celestine, Bishop of Rome, sent Germanus as his legate hither, and for this the testimony of Prosper is alleged. But this assertion seems sufficiently overthrown by the authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Ericus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, who all agree that Germanus and Lupus received their commission for this employment from the Bishops of Gaul. Baronius, who is always careful to set the Pope at the head of Church business, endeavours to reconcile this matter, and offers to make Prosper's testimony consistent with the rest. To this purpose, he tells us, 'that the

¹ Tillemont says, "Il paraît que St. Prosper a travaillé trois fois à sa chronique et en a fait, pour ainsi dire, trois éditions en 433 en 445 & en 455.

² Stillingfleet, Orig. 192.

³ Collier, p. 103. tom. i.

Pope might approve of the choice of the synod, or might leave the nomination of his representative to the Bishops of Gaul.' But neither of these pretences will hold ; for Prosper affirms Celestine sent him, *vice suá*, in his own stead, which is very different from appointing a council to choose one to be sent. And Constantius affirms, 'that Germanus and Lupus undertook their voyage immediately,' which is a sign they did not stay for the Pope's instructions and approbation. Besides, the Gallican Bishops and Celestine had no good understanding at this time of day, they being looked upon at Rome as somewhat inclined to Semi-Pelagianism. This makes it highly improbable, that either Celestine should refer the choice of his legate to these prelates, or that they should wait for his direction. There are likewise some different accounts in chronology, hardly to be reconciled. As to the testimony of Prosper, about Celestine's sending St. German, it may be answered ; first, that the Prosper published by Pithoeus, never mentions it. Secondly, Prosper in his tract against Cassian, which undoubtedly belongs to him, does not affirm it. For there he only declares that Celestine took care to disengage Britain from Pelagianism. To this we may add, that supposing Prosper's testimony is not interpolated, yet Constantius's authority is preferable to Prosper's in this matter : for Constantius was not only in a manner contemporary with St. German, but likewise a person of great eminency, as appears by Sidonius Apollinaris's Letters, and wrote with great exactness even by the confession of Baronius. Neither does Constantius stand single in this point, but the author of the Life of St. Lupus gives account, and so does Bede, and the rest of the historians above mentioned."

Having given Collier's words, let us see whether they have in reality that weight which at first sight they appear to have, with an especial reference to the more laboured dissertation of Stillingfleet, to whom Collier is chiefly indebted.

The authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, are opposed to Prosper. Now it so happens that Constantius is the only one of these that can be cited as an original testimony, for all have borrowed from him even his very expressions, and all lived long after the events they commemorate. Bede wrote nearly three centuries after ; and Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Ado of Vienne, and Erricus of Auxerre, flourished about a century later than Bede.¹ It would have been desirable that Usher, Stillingfleet, and Collier had given distinct references to these authors whom they cite among the other testimonies which they likewise appeal to, but with greater precision. If we except Bede, their writings are not very generally known, and are found in few collections.²

With regard to Bede, any one who will take the trouble to inspect his account of German's mission to Britain in all its circumstances will at once perceive that Bede has closely followed Constantius through several successive pages, so as to make it unquestionable that he was guided by Constantius alone in his relation

¹ Bede was born 673, and died 735, or later. Collier 294 Paulus Diaconus, called Warnefrid, born 740. Freculphus born at the end of the eighth century, Bishop of Lisieux. Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, born about 800. Vid. Biog. Univer. Erricus of Auxerre dedicated his book to Charles le Chauve, in 876. Vid. Boll. Commen. Præv.

² Vid. Eccl. Hist. ch. xvii.

of those circumstances which are mentioned by this author. Constantius had said nothing about the originators of the heresy in Britain; this Bede first supplies apparently from Prosper. He says, "The Pelagian heresy introduced by Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, had infected the faith of the Britons. But when the nation refused to accept this perverse doctrine and blaspheme in any way against the grace of Christ, and yet were not able to refute the deceits of these impious tenets, they adopted the salutary course of applying to the Gallican Bishops for assistance in their religious contest." He then falls into the narrative of Constantius, in which he continues for five chapters, deviating little from his authority. He describes the synod mentioned by Constantius with no other difference than what the explanation of one or two words required; while on the other hand, some of the very same expressions are used. As Constantius gave no hint of the part Celestine the Pope had taken, neither does Bede. He says a council was assembled, enquiry into the emergency was instituted, German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were elected, and the two Apostles and Bishops lost no time in setting off for Britain. But he says nothing about the manner in which the synod was convened, or the reasons that prevailed, or the persons who directed the deliberations. On the other hand, Bede supports the view here adopted by placing the mission of Palladius to the Scots at an earlier date¹ than that of German, and he distinctly says with Prosper, that Pelagius the Bishop was sent by Celestine the Pontiff of Rome to the Scots, who believed in Christ.²

¹ 430, A. D.

² Eccl. Hist. ch. xiii., and also *De sex ætatibus mundi. ad annum 4376 and 4402.*

This accounts therefore for the part which Prosper assigns to Palladius in turning the attention of Celestine towards Britain and the Pelagian heresy. On the whole, Bede gives nothing relative to the mission of German but what is found in Constantius and Prosper; while he omits to mention a fact which we shall see Prosper in two different works asserts.

Paulus Diaconus is the first in order of time among the other authors quoted by Collier. There are three historical works of his in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*;¹ in none of them can we find any statement concerning the subject in question. In his *Historia Miscella*, (p. 265, p. 266, p. 268,) during the period which extends from Constantine's usurpation in Britain, A. D. 407, to 511, there are indeed three notices of the civil affairs of Britain, but nothing is to be found concerning the ecclesiastical condition of that country. His work, *de Episcopis Metensibus*, is alike destitute of information to the point. And his history of the Lombards furnishes a mere view of the origin of that nation, and its fortunes from Justinian's time.

In the works of Freculphus and Ado we have something more to our purpose.² But then they are the mere copyists of Bede;³ and their chronology is evidently false, for they make German and Lupus visit Britain for the first time, after the Anglo and Saxons

¹ Tom. xiii. *Bibl. Patrum. Lugduni.*

² See *Bibl. Patr.* tom. 14. p. 1189 and 1190. tom. xvi. p. 796-7.

³ Usher p. 335, admits that all these writers have disregarded Prosper's chronology and followed Bede. Bede himself generally follows Prosper, and the reason for his departing in this instance, is probably that he had one of the early and imperfect copies of Prosper's *Chronicon*, which seems to have been three times written.

had taken possession of Britain. But let the reader convince himself of the little corroboration they supply to Bede's account, by comparing the following passages, the similarity of which requires not any scholarship to observe.

BEDE DE SEX ÆTAT.
AD AN. 4376.

FRECVLPVHVS,
CHRON.

ADO, CHRON.

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino, Palladius I., Episcopus mittitur.

(Tunc equidem) ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius I. Episcopo mittitur.

Scotis in Christum credentibus, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.

AD. AN. 4402.

Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Treccasenum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.

(Tunc) hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Treccassinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.

Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilia quærentes Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Tricasinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistites fidei defensores accipiunt.

Surely these writers, distinguished as they were, cannot be considered as independent testimonies even if we overlook the late date to which they belong. Nor has Erricus of Auxerre left any passage which might shake Prosper's testimony. Though somewhat farther removed

from the age of German, yet as a Monk of Auxerre, and a special enquirer into the life and miracles of our Saint, he might be expected to throw some fresh light on the point we are considering. But any one who will be at the pains to peruse the poetical version he has given of Constantius, will be surprised to find how very little real matter he has added to his model. In his account of the synod he merely paraphrases Constantius without any appearance of having consulted other testimony.¹ This author is more worthy of attention in what regards the circumstances which followed German's death, than for any information strictly biographical.

To conclude what may be said respecting these authorities quoted by Collier and Stillingfleet, with some remarks upon Constantius himself: it is asked, why did this writer omit all indication of Celestine's part in the transactions under enquiry if there were grounds for believing it. The answer is, first that Constantius is a very unequal writer as regards plan and method; he sometimes gives long details about one event, and passes cursorily over others of equal importance; nay, he is silent on subjects which are of great interest. Thus, German's education and early life, his political career, the Bishops who consecrated him, the rule and customs of his monastery, (to mention a few instances), are left in great obscurity by him. His object was, in the main, plainly to give a narrative of the miracles and distinguished actions of German, in compliance with the taste of the day.² There is little or nothing about

¹ Moreover, often what he did not learn from Constantius, like the rest, he took from Bede.—Vid. De Mirac. 24. Boll.

² Hence the expression, "*vitam gestaue, in connexion with 'pro miraculorum numerositate,' innumerabilium miraculorum exempla.*"—Prolog. Const.

Church matters, theological questions, and the like, although his great eminence in the literary world was noted in his own time.¹ In fact, they were not to his purpose. Again, Constantius may himself have been ignorant of the circumstances of the synod. Let it be remembered that he wrote sixty years after it was held; and though, as a youth, contemporary with the latter years of German, yet he was probably quite a child when the mission of German and Lupus took place.² Councils were very numerous at that time, and especially in Gaul, where one every year was gathered, as any person may see by referring to Guizot's France, in which a list of those only, that are recorded, is to be found. It is not then to be wondered, if the Acta of this one should have escaped his observation, supposing them even to have existed at that time, and not to have been lost in the desolation which the barbarians, for the space of ten years, spread over the country, after German's death.³ On the whole, Constantius has transmitted next to nothing concerning the fact, which he just mentions; for where it was held, and what Bishops attended, and at what time it took

¹ Vid. Sidon. Epist.

² Compare his own words in the Prologue. "Tanta enim jam temporum fluxere curricula, ut obscurata per silentium vix colligatur agnitio." Compare also what Dubos says, tom. i. 387. "*Si le Prêtre Constantius avait prévu la perte des livres qu'on avait de son temps, & qu'on n'a plus aujourd'hui il aurait été plus exact dans sa narration.—Mais cet auteur qui comptait sur ces livres a écrit les détails qui s'y trouvaient & nous sommes ainsi réduits à conjecturer.*"

³ See Hericus Prol. ad Miracula Germ. Garnier, in his Marius Mercator, hints that these acts do still exist, but they have not been forthcoming, and he does not say where they are supposed to be. xxi. Synod.

place, he has not told us, any more than by what authority it was called together.

What sanction have we then for asserting, that Pope Celestine appointed German his Legate to Britain, (as Baronius expresses it) with the understanding of the Gallican Bishops assembled at Troyes? We have seen it is that of St. Prosper Aquitanus. In the *Chronicon Integrum* of that author, published by Roncallius in 1787, and in Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. i. p. 630, we find the following passage, placed under the year when Florentius and Dionysius were consuls, that is in 429.

“Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit sed ad actionem (or actione¹) Palladii Diaconi Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisiodorenses Episcopum vice suâ mittit, ut (or et) deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigat (or dirigit.)”

“Agricola the Pelagian, the son of Severianus the Bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain, by insinuating his doctrines; but by the advice of Palladius the Deacon, Pope Celestine sent German, Bishop of Auxerre, as his representative, in order that, after defeating the heretics, he might restore the Britons to the Catholic Faith.”

This chronicle, say the editors referred to, is now considered the authentic production of Prosper by all the learned. But it has been objected, that it differs from another published by Pithoens in the sixteenth century, which does not contain the passage just quoted. Now in truth, the two works are altogether different compositions; and though they may each be

¹ Bouquet.

brought as witnesses to what they each state, yet the silence of one cannot invalidate the testimony of the other. The Pithoean edition reckons the years by the Emperors, the other by the Consuls ;¹ the former is very much the shorter of the two, and the style of both is different ; nay, there is a passage in the Pithoean Ed. relating to the Predestinarians,² which, as Stillingfleet himself confesses, could not have been written by Prosper Aquitanus.

There is then no reason why the Pithoean Chronicle of Prosper, on the ground of mere silence, should interfere with the passage given above, as the genuine words of Prosper Aquitanus, which few contest at present.³ With regard to their respective notices of St. German, they are widely different. The Pithoean Edit. has :—

“ Germanus Episcopus Autissiodori virtutibus et vitæ districtione clarescit.” “ German, the Bishop of Auxerre, flourishes, endued with great gifts, and eminent for strictness of life.” This sentence is manifestly very different from the former, and it matters little whether it is by the same author or a different one.

But there is another work of Prosper, which, though less explicit, is yet as satisfactory as can be desired, without being liable to the same objections of authenticity. We there find the following words :—

“ Venerabilis memoria Pontifex Celestinus,⁴ nec

¹ See Recueil, Bouquet, 635.

² At least in the Editions of Labb. and Mang, though Roncallius corrects it with the note (*alia manu.*)

³ Conf. apud Roncallium, *Chronie. Prosp. ex MS. Augustano*, p. 691, et *Chronie. Vatican*, p. 715, ad marg.—Tillemont. *Art. St. Prosper.*

⁴ Prosper contra Collat. in fine. apud Alford. 429. et in tom. x. Appendix August. Opera Bened.

verò segniore curâ, ab hoc eodem morbo (i. e. *Pelagianismo*) Britannias liberavit : quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto excludit Oceani : et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, *dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam*, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.”

“Pope Celestine of revered memory, with no less diligence and care, delivered Britain from the same disease ; for he banished from those remote and sea-girt provinces certain adversaries of Divine Grace, who were taking possession of the soil whence they had originated ; and having ordained a Bishop for the Scots, (*Palladius*) while he endeavoured to preserve that part of the island which was Roman, in the Catholic faith, (i. e. *through St. German*) he also made that part which was barbarian, Christian (*by means of Palladius.*)”

Prosper here assigns to Pope Celestine the office of removing Pelagianism from Britain. Now there are only two occasions on record when that heresy, after disturbing the country, was extirpated by foreign assistance, namely, when German came over for the first and second times. And it is agreed on all sides that the second time was long after Celestine's death.¹ It remains, therefore, that when German came to Britain the first time, then Celestine might rightly be said to deliver this island from the heresy ; that is, German acted as his representative or Legate.² It is not intended that these titles signified precisely what they did in subsequent ages, nor that they excluded the idea of the

¹ Celestine died 432. German was in Britain the second time in 446 or 447.—Boll. et Usher.

² Vice suâ.

authority of the Gallican synod being conjoined to that of Celestine. This fact is elsewhere proved. However the two passages of Prosper, taken together, establish one another so clearly, that they seem to place the matter beyond question.

The chronological difficulties to which Collier alludes, are certainly more easily resolvable, by assigning the first mission to 429, instead of 446. Spelman and others, who have adhered to Bede's uncertain chronology, have involved their dates in the same confusion as that writer. And had Collier rather followed Usher than Stillingfleet, (who, it must be confessed, causes perplexities by attempting to overthrow what after all he admits.) he would have seen that Usher calls it a plain anachronism to postpone the journey of German and Lupus to 446.¹

The date here recognized has been adopted by the majority of the learned ; the authors of *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, Bouquet, Tillemont, Usher, Fleury, Carte, Lingard, Guizot, &c.² If Celestine had any part in the matter, it must have been before 432, since he died in that year. And the writer of the life of St. Lupus is so far from authorizing a date subsequent to this Pope's death, that he is one of those by whose testimony the chronology of Prosper is established. For, as Usher observes,³ St. Lupus is said to have been joined with St. German two years after he had been made Bishop of Troyes, which event had taken place a year after he entered the Monastery of Lerins. Now the latest period to which the arrival of St. Lupus at

¹ Conf. *Boll. Com. Præv.* § vi.

² Carte, in a note, expresses a doubt, p. 182, v. i.

³ P. 325, Ed. 4to.

Lerins can be assigned is 426, and consequently, the mission to Britain, which was three years after, must have been, at the farthest, in 429, and in this inference he is supported by Garnier and the Bollandists.¹

It appears then that Stillingfleet, who urges the misunderstanding of the Gallican Bishops with the See of Rome, is tacitly begging the question. The Deposition of Chelidonius, in which St. German took part, and which is supposed to have irritated against him the Pope, occurred in 444. And if this misunderstanding arose from the Semi-Pelagianism of some Gallican Bishops, it is not necessary, in the first place, that it should have infected all, including St. German :—in the second, in 429 Semi-Pelagianism had but just appeared in Gaul, and was, as yet, scarcely recognized or convicted ;—in the third place, though Arles, to which St. Hilary belonged, might be obnoxious to Rome, (a mere conjecture) yet there is no reason why a Council at Troyes, in Champagne, must share in the displeasure ;—fourthly, the names of none of the assembled Bishops are given, except those of German and Lupus, and why those, who are not so much as named, must be guilty at Rome, is still to be shown :—lastly, it is going too much out of the way, to imply that St. German was Semi-Pelagian, because St. German was friend of St. Lupus, and St. Lupus was brother of Vincentius Lirinensis, and Vincentius Lirinensis was supposed to be infected with some errors of the kind. The answer to this is, that brothers do not always hold the same opinions, and friends do not necessarily agree with friends' brothers ; and Vincentius, who is supposed without satisfactory foundation to have written in fa-

¹ Diss. 2. ch. 22.—Comm. in Vitam Lupi.

your of the Semi-Pelagians, is allowed, even by his accusers, to have written only in 430, that is, after the Council of Troyes ; while other authors deny that he ever composed the heretical work imputed to him. Nay, Ceillier, a high authority, thinks it is altogether very doubtful whether Vincentius Lirinensis was brother of St. Lupus, and he notices the silence of Gennadius, a writer near to the times in question.¹ And if it be urged that St. Lupus was commissioned to go to Britain, as well as St. German, which brings the last objection a step nearer, it is replied that St. Lupus also was appointed by the Gallican Bishops, and there is no authority for supposing the Pope to have nominated him, whereas there is in the case of St. German. If, then, the Gallican Bishops and St. Lupus were all Semi-Pelagians, it is not surprising, forsooth, that the Delegate should have resembled the Commissioners. But let us not imagine, unnecessarily, schism in Christian Bishops, heresy in Saints.

The recent editor of the very ancient Life of St. Lupus seems to have shown satisfactorily that Troyes was the place where the Council was held.²

From this last source, then, we learn, as well as may be, the place of the Council ; from Prosper, the intervention of the Pope Celestine and the date ; and from Constantius, the enquiry and decision of the Synod.³

It need only be added, that circumstantial evidence is in favour of the general view here taken. It was

¹ Vid. Ceillier, tom. xiii. p. 583 ; et Tillemont. Art. Vincent.—Petavius says the Commonitorium was written in 434.—Doct. Temp. vol. ii. ad Annum.

² Boll. Tom. vii. Julii.

³ Comp. Usher, Index. Chron. p. 1097.

by the advice of St. German, that St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, went to Rome to get his commission, according to Hericus of Auxerre, whom Usher, who well knew St. Patrick's history, approves.¹ His words are as follows : "Patrick, the special Apostle of Ireland, during eighteen years² (*authors differ about the time*) remained under his tuition, and received great knowledge in the Scriptures from his instructions. Whereupon the Bishop, (German) seeing how great a divine Patrick had become, how excellent in his conduct, and sound in his opinions, and wishing a labourer so vigorous might not remain idle in the Lord's vineyard, sent him, together with his presbyter, Segetius, to St. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, that Segetius might bear witness to the merits of Patrick before the Apostolical See. Approved by the judgment of the Pope, supported by his authority and strengthened with his blessing, Patrick went to the regions of Hibernia, as the Apostle of that nation."³

Again, there is no doubt that St. Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, was sent by Celestine. Both Prosper and Bede agree in this.

There is a probability that the title of "Apostolici Sacerdotes," which Constantius gives to German and Lupus, might denote that they were authorized by the one Apostolical See of the West. But the context seems scarcely to warrant this conjecture of Alford, and the frequent use of the word in contemporary writers, in the sense of Holy, and as we should say, Primitive, makes the other sense, which is indeed also found, the less probable in this instance.

¹ Usher, p. 1100.

² De Mir. Lib. i. ch. xxi.

³ So Jocelin. Vid. Alford, an. 431. Stillingfleet 211.

But a better argument is deduced from the circumstances of St. German's journey to Arles *after his mission*, to which there will soon be occasion more fully to advert again. Auxiliaris was then Prefect, and he was no longer Prefect in 444 ; consequently, German must have been in Britain before 446. Again, if St. Eucher had been Bishop of Lyons when German passed through that town, in going to Arles, Constantius would have mentioned it, for St. Eucher was one of the most eminent men of his time, and Constantius was Priest in that very town. But St. Eucher was Bishop in 444, for he then joined Hilary and German in deposing Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon. Therefore, when German passed by, it was before 444. Therefore, he was in Britain before 446. But of this more hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII.

St. German's first visit to Britain.

ST. LUPUS, who was chosen to be the colleague of St. German, was one of the most eminent men of his time. His Life, which is still existing, and is almost as ancient as the Saint himself, informs us that he was born at Toul, in Lorraine, of a noble family, A. D. 383.¹ His father was called Epirichius, who died early, and left the care of Lupus to his brother Listicius, which latter bestowed great pains on his education. When he grew up he married Pimeniola, the sister of St. Hilary of

¹ Bolland. xxix. Jul.—Vid. Ceillier, tom. xv. 40.

Arles. After they had been married seven years, by mutual consent they parted from each other, and Lupus retired to the Monastery of Lerins, in the south of France, where Honoratus was then Abbot. There he lived a year, after which, as he was returning to Mâcon to give away all his fortune to the poor, he was suddenly carried off to Troyes in Champagne, and with universal approbation instituted Bishop of that place. His learning, his ardour, his eloquence, his holiness, ranked him among the most distinguished Bishops of Gaul. He was an intimate friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, with whom some fragments of his correspondence remain. He is there called by Sidonius a Father of Fathers, a Bishop of Bishops, a second St. James,¹ in allusion to a similar expression of St. Clement concerning St. James the Less. He had been only two years at Troyes, when the synod which was held there nominated him Apostle to Britain in conjunction with St. German. The date of his birth will show that he was junior to German by at least five years. He was at this time forty-six years of age ; German was in his fifty-first year. This distinction of age may account for the somewhat subordinate capacity in which he is represented with regard to German in the following account of their joint mission.

The two Apostles, for such they are always called by contemporary writers, lost no time in doing the work which was committed to them. They directed their course towards Paris, through Sens and Melun, which, as we all know, is the straight road to England, and stopped at Metrodorum, now called Nanterre, about two leagues from the present capital of France. The

¹ Lib. vi. Ep. i. Et Notas.

inhabitants of the place came out to receive them on their arrival, and obtain their blessing. While German was talking to the people, he perceived in the midst of them a little girl about six years old,¹ who appeared to him to have the radiance of an angel on her countenance. He desired that she might be brought nearer to him. He then embraced the child, and asked who she was. Genevieve he was told was her name ; her father was Severus and her mother Gerontia. The parents, who seem to have been persons of consideration, were then called to answer the enquiries of German. When they arrived, endued with a prophetic spirit, he congratulated them on having such a daughter, pronouncing her to be a chosen vessel of God, and one who would hereafter become a bright example to all.

He then requested Genevieve (who was no other than the illustrious patron Saint of Paris) to open her mind to him, and confess whether she intended to adopt the holy life of a Virgin, and become one of the Spouses of Christ. She declared that such was her desire, and that she had cherished it for some time, and entreated him to add his sanction and benediction. Having exhorted her to persevere in her purpose, he led her with him to the Church of Nanterre, accompanied by all the people. The Divine Service then began. The two offices of nones and vespers were united, during which a long series of psalms were sung, and protracted prayers offered up.² All the while German continued to hold his hand upon the head of the girl. The office ended, and they retired for refreshment.

¹ 423, A. D., is assigned as the year of her birth.

² Nonam et Duodecimam celebrant. Vit. Genov. Jan. iii. Bolland.

The following day German enquired of Genevieve whether she was mindful of her late profession.¹ Upon which, as if full of the Divine Spirit, she expressed her determination to act up to it, and desired he would always remember her in his prayers. While they were conversing, German beheld on the ground a copper coin with the impression of the cross upon it. The interposition of God was deemed manifest. Accordingly taking up the coin, he presented it to Genevieve, and charged her to hang it to her neck, and always carry it about with her in remembrance of him. Other ornaments, such as the world offers, gold and precious stones, she was enjoined to renounce. "Let them, he said, who live for this life have these ; do thou, who art become the Spouse of Christ, desire spiritual adorning." He then took leave of her, recommended her to the special attention of her parents, and resumed his journey with Lupus. In remembrance of this present of German to Genevieve, there long remained among the Canons of St. Genevieve at Paris, the custom of distributing annually on her festival a piece of bread blessed, with an image of the coin impressed upon it. We may remark moreover how early the practice prevailed among Christians of carrying at their necks some token of the mysteries of their religion ; and also, that the profession of a religious life was a formal act, not merely an internal resolution of the soul.

The two Bishops soon arrived at the sea-shore. The winter months had now set in. But regardless of the weather, they embarked, says Constantius, upon the ocean with Christ for their leader.² The ship at

¹ This seems decided proof that the child was very young.

² Vid. Vita St. Lupi. "*Temporibus hybernis mari se committente.*"

first was carried out from the harbour of Gaul by soft gales, till it reached the middle of the Channel, and lost all sight of the land. Shortly after, the power of demons seemed to be roused over the wide expanse. Filled, as it were, with wicked and malicious envy towards the holy men who undertook to restore a nation to the paths of salvation, they immediately began to excite the storms, and cover the sky with thick clouds, which spread gloom and darkness over the horizon. The sails were unable to resist the fury of the winds, and the vessel began to yield to the weight of the waves. The sailors at last relinquished their post, and the ship was left to the sole aid of prayer. While these things were passing, the chief person in the expedition, wearied with previous fatigues, had fallen asleep. He was still in this state, when the tempest broke through all obstacles, and the ship began to sink. Then Lupus and the whole crew rushed in great alarm to their venerable brother and awoke him, hoping to oppose effectually his strength to the elements. In the midst of the danger, German remained perfectly calm, and calling upon the name of Christ, rebuked the raging of the sea. At the same time taking oil, he sprinkled some over the waves, in the name of the Blessed Trinity.¹ Immediately they began to subside. Afterwards German, with the same composure, addressed words of encouragement to Lupus and his fellow-travellers. They then prayed all together. In the mean time, the last efforts of the evil

¹ Alford, in this connexion, observes with Baronius, that this sprinkling of oil does not relate to the sacramental ordinance mentioned by St. James, but is to be referred to the example proposed in St. Mark.

spirits were subdued, and tranquillity was restored to the sea and to the air. The winds changed their direction, and carried the vessel safely towards the British shore.

We are not told precisely where German landed in Britain ; but, as Whitaker says, the harbour of Rhutupiæ, or Richborough, between the mouth of the Thames and Dover, was the great entrance from Gaul to this island. It was there St. Augustine subsequently landed, and the Roman troops generally were disembarked at this spot, as the Antonine Itinerary testifies. When German and Lupus set foot on shore, they were received by a multitude of people, who had come from all sides to greet them. It appears the evil spirits, by means of the prophetic exclamations of some possessed persons, had given notice of their approach.

The fame of the two Apostolical envoys soon spread all over the country. Their preaching and signs attracted crowds to the Churches they visited. On their journey, also, they were accompanied by a large concourse of people. And such was the zeal everywhere displayed, that they were forced to stop and address the multitudes in the fields and highways. On all these occasions, they endeavoured to eradicate the seeds of Pelagianism from the hearts of their hearers. Nor did the event disappoint their expectations. Their boldness and conscious strength, their learning, orthodox teaching and sanctity, carried the feelings of all with them ; insomuch that the authors of the Pelagian leaven were obliged to remain hid, and mourn in silence the defection of their disciples. At last, they gathered their forces and resolved to encounter the two Bishops. Like the Arian faction at Constantinople, they trusted the display of worldly importance would

prevail over the unassisted appeals of truth. They came to the Conference with a splendid train. Riches and glittering garments distinguished their party ; a body of complaisant followers was ready to support their assertions. The Synod (for such appears to have been the nature of the assembly where the two parties met) was attended by great numbers. Many Bishops and Priests, doubtless, were there, anxious to see what foreign assistance might effect for the destruction of a heresy which they had in vain endeavoured to stifle. At the same time, a number of the laity were allowed to assist, with their wives and children. It should seem some vast and open place was selected for the reception of all who were interested in the issue ; and the publicity of the Conference in itself was desirable, as a means of disabusing the people.

In all respects the contrast between the parties was striking. The language of the Pelagians, says Constantius, presented more of empty verbosity than forcible argument. And, indeed, the general effect of their harangues may have been such. But when we reflect upon the maturity to which the heresy had arrived, the acuteness which ever characterized its maintainers, the deep root it had taken in Britain, and the difficulty which the Catholic Clergy had experienced in their struggle against it, we cannot but modify the import of his expressions by the nature of the circumstances. The most elaborate and subtle discussions of heretics may sometimes, to orthodox ears, who do not perceive the drift of them, have the appearance of shallowness and irrelevancy. Again, any thing, in one sense, may be considered as unphilosophical and superficial which is not true. And after all, it was the popular impression which Constantius was

concerned to transmit. On the other hand, he says German and Lupus, who were profoundly versed in the Scriptures and theological learning, and by nature eloquent, were able to support the arguments which reason and conscience dictated to them, by the most convincing appeals to authority and tradition. The truth of this assertion is abundantly shown by the result ; for their adversaries were completely silenced by the answers they received, and even confessed their own errors ; while the people, astonished at their signal discomfiture, were ready to lay violent hands upon them.

Some suppose this Council, which historically deserves an importance apart from the scanty records which notice it, to have taken place at London, others at Verulam or St. Alban's. The latter opinion, which is the most favoured by critics, is derived from Matthæus Florilegus, who wrote in 1307, A. D., and is, therefore, no very safe authority. Camden tells us that some old parchments of the Church of St. Alban's bear witness that St. German went up to the pulpit, and harangued the people, in the place where there is still a small chapel dedicated to him. Spelman and Alford, who are followed by Collier, incline to this view.¹ However, as German harangued the people wherever he went, nothing can be inferred from the parchments of St. Alban's, as to this particular Synod. And Constantius would rather lead us to suppose that German removed from the place where it was held, to go to St. Alban's, which could hardly be said had he

¹ See also Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire. He makes the odd mistake of assigning this circumstance to 401, t. i. p. 6. Collier, p. 103. i. Spelman Concilia. Alford, 429.

been in the town. We are informed that the *Acta*, or account of the proceedings, are still in existence,¹ as well as those of the Gallican Synod before mentioned ; but in whose possession they are, is a mystery. Boethius, a late writer, in his *History of the Scotch*, seems indeed, to be the only authority for assigning the present Council to London ; and yet it is the opinion which tallies best with the probabilities of circumstances. London was at this time the most important town in the south ; a Bishop resided there, who must have been the Metropolitan, if not of the whole province, yet of a great part of it. Besides, London was in the way to St. Alban's.

Scarcely had the Conference ended, when an officer in the Roman service, accompanied by his wife, advanced towards German and Lupus. He was a Tribune, and at that time his office was one of great importance, as it ranked next to that of Count or Duke. In all great cities, there was a Tribune, who had both the command of the troops and the superintendence of the civil affairs, and was responsible only to the governor or Duke of the Province.² The Tribune presented to the two Bishops his little daughter, who was blind, and requested them to bestow such relief as lay in their power. But he was desired to try first the skill of their Pelagian adversaries, miracles having always been considered by the Church the proper evidence of true doctrine. But they who had now learnt to think more humbly of themselves, united in demanding her cure at the hands of German and Lupus. A short prayer was then offered up, and German, full of

¹ Vid. *Boll. Comm. Præv.* § 59. Tillemont, t. xv.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 80.

the Holy Ghost, called upon the Blessed Trinity, pulled from his breast the little box of relics, which he ever carried about him, and applied it to the eyes of the girl. Her sight was restored at once. This miracle, performed in the presence of so great a multitude, gave the finishing stroke to Pelagianism. In those parts the heretics were totally suppressed, and the people restored to purity of faith. If we might credit the assertion of the author quoted above, Boethius, there were some who refused to renounce their false tenets, and who were burnt at the stake by the civil magistrates. It is true, the secular power had been armed against the heresy, and some severities had been exercised in Gaul through the imperial edicts ; but that a deed of this magnitude should have been left unnoticed by Constantius, when the context would have required at least some allusion to it, seems sufficient to disprove the supposed fact ; add to which, the cruelty which half a century before had been displayed against the Priscillianists, and had been so earnestly deprecated by St. Martin, would have left an impression calculated to avert any unnecessary return of it.

However, German and Lupus having concluded the conference, proceeded to St. Alban's tomb at Verulam, in order to return thanks to God. In this they did but comply with the custom of the country, in the veneration of which St. Alban held the rank of Patron Saint. His name is still familiar to most Englishmen, though his history is involved in much obscurity. He has deserved the honour of being called the first British Martyr, and was probably put to death in the persecution of Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, the fury of which has already been adverted to. The famous Abbey which still stands over his relics, was not built till the year

790, by Offa, king of Mercia, consequently long after German's visit.¹ But there was a Church or Basilica already there at this time.

When German arrived, public prayers were performed ; after which, he caused the tomb of the Saint to be opened and deposited within some of the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which he carried with him, under the sense, says Constantius, that there was a propriety in joining in one receptacle the bones of those who at the most distant parts of the world had exhibited the same virtues. At the same time he took up from the very spot where the blood of the Martyr had been shed a handful of dust, which by the red stain it still preserved, bore witness to the fury of persecution.² This he subsequently took to Auxerre, where he built a Church in honour of St. Alban. which, says Hericus, was held in the highest veneration. It was such actions as that just related, which excited the indignation of the heretic Vigilantius, not long before the events under consideration, when he exclaimed : " We have now to see almost the rites of the Gentiles introduced under pretence of religion, a little dust forsooth, enveloped in a precious cloth and placed in a convenient vessel, which men kiss and worship." In answer to which St. Jerome said : " We do not adore even the Sun or the Moon, or the Angels, much less the relics of Martyrs ; but we do honour the relics of Martyrs in order to adore Him for whom they are Martyrs. We honour the servants, that their honour may redound unto that of their Lord."³ But to return.

¹ See Moreri Diet. ad vocem. Bosh. Not. ad Const.

² Hericus Vita Metr. B. iv. § 94. and De Mir. § 7.

³ Vid. Apud Thom. Aquin. Qu. xxv. Ast. 2.

Three centuries after, we are told, that king Offa found at Verulam the coffin of St. Alban, which had been hidden, for fear of the barbarians, together with these same relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German had there deposited.¹ On which occasion, the people that were present, both clergy and laymen, were so moved at the sight, that they shed tears of joy and thanksgiving.

There is little or no credit to be attached to the story of the Monks of Cologne, who in the middle ages asserted that German had carried the remains of St. Alban to Rome, and that at a future time they were brought to their city. The body in fact remained entire at Verulam, where a chapel was afterwards built in honour of St. German and his visit to the Martyr's remains. This chapel in process of time formed a part of the great Abbey of St. Albans.²

After German had visited the shrine of St. Alban, he met with an accident (the only one which is recorded in his long life) which though not of a very serious nature, yet impeded his progress. Having bruised his foot, he was obliged to stop, and take up his abode in a cottage. During his stay, a fire broke out in the neighbourhood, which spread with so much the more rapidity as the roofing of the houses was of thatch, a circumstance not unimportant in these days of antiquarian research.³ Men from all sides came to warn him of the danger, but he remained perfectly composed, and would

¹ Matt. Floril. apud Usseri. 329.

² Vid. Dugdale, and a quotation from Matt. Paris, in Alford ad an. 441.

³ Comp. Hallam Middle Ages, and an article in No. 3, Archæological Journal.

not suffer himself to be removed. All the buildings around were burnt to the ground, while that in which he was detained, as if by miracle, escaped the flames.

In the meantime, German continued to endure the pain which his accident had produced without accepting any remedy. One night a person clad in white garments appeared to him and raised him up. At that instant he recovered the use of his leg, and prepared to resume his journey. The reader will be reminded of the angel who appeared to St. Peter.

About this time it is supposed St. Patrick, the future Apostle of Ireland, came to visit St. German, and consult him about his studies and the means of converting men. This does not appear to have been the first interview of these Saints. St. Patrick was probably under the care and tuition of St. German several years before. There are few things better attested than their friendship and intercourse, and in all the accounts of St. Patrick's life, it is believed the names of both are united. Yet the exact circumstances of their connexion are seemingly uncertain and confused from the very variety of the witnesses. William of Malmesbury dates their intimacy from this journey of German to Britain; and a few years after, supposes German to have obtained the sanction of Pope Celestine for sending St. Patrick as Apostle to Ireland.¹ These events, however, belong rather to a Life of St. Patrick. It is sufficient here to commemorate that union which existed between two such eminent men; and it may afford a further proof of the holiness of both, that German was the friend of Patrick, Patrick of German. Constantius says nothing

¹ Vid. Usher, p. 840. Bede and Capgrave apud Alford. 429.

about it, but his commentator, Hericus of Auxerre, supplies the omission.

While German was detained by his accident, a great number of sick persons came to see him to be cured of their respective diseases. Others came to desire spiritual instruction. German healed the first, and enlightened the latter. The miraculous power which is assigned to him in healing sick people, can only be compared with that which St. Peter and St. Paul possessed, concerning whom it is said, that by them, "they were healed every one" whosoever had any disease.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Alleluatic Victory.

WITH the names of the Picts and Scots, who, it has been seen, infested Britain during the early part of the fifth century, that of the Saxons has been mentioned in a previous chapter ; which the reader may either not have observed, or may have looked upon as an anachronism. According to the chronology that has been adopted, the Invasion, properly so called, of the Saxons and Angles took place nearly twenty years after the first visit of German, that is, in 448, A. D., if we follow Alford, or in 450 if Usher be heard. But it has been proved beyond question, from contemporary writers, that the Saxons made occasional descents upon the island long before their final settlement. So early as the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I., that is, about 364, the Britons were attacked by them. And to secure them from the insults of this foreign enemy.

a subsequent emperor appointed a Comes Littoris Saxonicæ, that is, a Commanding Officer, to guard the coasts of Britain which were most exposed to their assaults.¹ Nay, earlier even than this, in 286, during the reign of Diocletian, Entropius tells us that the Saxons, with the Franks, infested the Districts of Belgica and Armorica, the latter of which faces the southern coast of Britain, which consequently must have shared in the calamity.² For all contemporary writers bear witness to the boldness and extent of their piratical exploits. "The Saxons, says Orosius the historian, who dwell on the shores of the Atlantic (what we should call the North Sea), in the midst of impassable marshes, are a nation terrible for their courage and activity, and highly formidable to the Roman power."³ "It is a mere amusement, says Sidonius Apollinaris, for the pirate Saxon to cut through the British Sea in his pinnace of osier and skins."⁴ And in fact the Saxons in these light skiffs, similar in materials to those described by Herodotus with regard to the Armenians, used to undertake very distant expeditions. They were known to have penetrated as far as the Columns of Hercules at the extremity of Spain, and Britain which lay foremost in their way naturally became the object of continual aggression. What was the precise situation of their own country is not very clear. The words of Orosius, just quoted, seem to show that they occupied the coast of Germany which extends

¹ Ammian. Marcellin. Hist. Lib. 26. apud Usserium.—Notit. Imper.—Collier.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 75.

³ Ibid. 169.

⁴ Sid. Apoll. Paneg. Aviti. See also Hegesippus Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. Pliny. Hist. Lib. iv. ch. 16. Lucan Pharsal. Lib. iv. Cæsar. Comment. Lib. 1. Bell. Civ. Herod. Clio. 194. ch.

between the Rhine and the Weser, known by the name of Friesland. And such is the opinion of a writer of those parts, Bernardus Furnerius, in his *Annals of the Frisian people*.¹

While German and Lupus were in Britain, one of these plundering expeditions of the Saxons took place. They joined their forces to those of the Piets, the eternal enemies of the Britons, and made a descent upon the coasts of North Wales, in Flintshire. They chose a favourable spot for their attack, having rowed or towed their boats up the river Dee, and landed under the Welsh hills, near Mold. The Britons, who had assembled to oppose them, found themselves unable to cope with the peculiar tactics of their enemy, and were constrained to remain within their own entrenchments. The descriptions which have been left of the mode of attack practised by the Saxons, will best explain the reasons of their embarrassment.

In their light vessels, which they were careful to fill with expert and resolute men, the Saxons never used to lose sight of the land, if possible ; and indeed the nature of their boats required but little depth of water. When a storm came on, they took refuge in some creek, or beneath the cliffs on the coast. At the return of the fair weather, they again left their place of refuge, and directing their course from cape to cape, they stopped wherever any occasion of plunder offered. The want of our modern resources of artillery rendered all offensive measures against these invaders quite useless. It was a frequent custom with them, as in the present occasion, to navigate up the rivers which came in their way ; and sometimes they might have been found at

¹ Ed. 1609. *Franecaræ*.

the distance of fifty leagues from the sea, like the Normans in the ninth century, whose predatory fleets were seen in the Seine under the walls of Paris. When they had advanced so far into the land as to begin to lack depth of water, the men got ashore to lighten the boats which they towed along. A whole army of them thus used to descend upon those defenceless tracts of country where the vigilance of the Maritime Commanders had not prevented their progress. The chief means which were employed to resist them consisted in the use of a number of flat boats which the Roman Government had stationed in the rivers, and bridges thrown across the stream near the walls of cities to obstruct the passage of the enemy.¹ An extract from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris will show how difficult it was to repel them, and will illustrate some characteristics of their manners as well as those of their allies the Picts and Scots. He writes thus to a friend :

“ I have been informed that you have given the signal of departure to your fleet, and are performing the parts of both sailor and soldier, wandering along the tortuous coasts of the sea in pursuit of those long curved skiffs of the Saxons.² Of course as many of them as you perceive at the oar, you may reckon to be so many arch-pirates ; for indeed all at once command, obey, instruct, and learn to plunder. I have great reason then in recommending precaution to you. These of all our enemies are the most fierce. They attack by surprise, and escape when discovered. They despise your preparations, and yet, if you do not take measures, they are instantly upon you. They never

¹ Vid. Dubos, p. 175 and 75.

² “ Pandos myoparones.”

pursue without success, never make away without impunity. Shipwrecks instead of alarming them, are a mere exercise. With the perils of the sea they are more than acquainted, they are familiar. If a tempest supervene, they know this, that their designed victims will be off their guard, and that they will escape notice out at sea. And in the midst of the waves and the rocks, there they play with danger, expecting shortly a successful descent. If, when about to set sail for their own country, they weigh anchor before their enemy's coast, they have this preliminary custom. Just before they start, they decimate their captives for cruel tortures, which are the more horrid from the superstition that dictates them. They think that chance which presides at the drawing of lots is of that equitable nature, that all the iniquity which might be imputed to such frightful slaughter is as a matter of course removed. And as if purified by these sacrifices, not rather polluted by the sacrilege, the perpetrators of this bloody deed make it a point of religion to prefer the death of their captives to any proffered ransom."

It was this last practice mentioned by Sidonius, which made probably Salvian some years before call the Saxons emphatically the savage Saxons.¹ It does not appear the Picts and Scots were less cruel under the similar influence of Paganism and superstition. The two Apostles of those nations, St. Palladius and St. Patrick, had not yet set out to convert them.

The combined forces of these nations were laying waste the country of Flintshire, and forcing the Britons who had assembled to oppose them, to remain within their entrenchments, when a deputation arrived in the

¹ "Ferus Saxon," De Gubern.

parts where German and Lupus were preaching, and requested them as a last resource to come to the assistance of the exposed army. They readily complied, and hastening their progress, soon arrived near Mold, in Flintshire, or as the Welsh call it, Guid-cruc, where they found the Britons collected. Their arrival infused at once joy and confidence into all hearts, as if holiness, we are told, had been in itself an equivalent to a large army. The two Prelates were then constituted Generals of the British Forces, one of the earliest instances in which ecclesiastical rulers are known to have taken the lead in military exploits.

It was now the season of Lent, that is, the spring of the year 430. The Britons were wont to observe the Forty Days with particular solemnity ; and the presence of German and Lupus now added to the strictness of their observance. Every day the two Bishops preached to the soldiers ; insomuch, says Constantius, that there was a general wish to receive the grace of Baptism ; and a great number were initiated into the Church at the river Alen which ran beside the camp.¹ By this we are to understand that there were as yet many Pagans in Britain, which the analogy of other countries would confirm, or that there were many persons, who, though professing the Christian religion, deferred their baptism till the last, according to a corrupt custom very prevalent in all Christendom, which was frequently reprobated from the pulpit, and of which Constantine the Great had been a striking example.² But this last cause, which has escaped the at-

¹ Alen is called Strat-Alen by the Welsh. See Camden.

² Vid. St. Chrys. ad Acta Apost. Rom. I., and Bingham, who has explained the various reasons of the practice.

tention of critics, need not be taken alone. Probably the Catechumens were a mixed number of both classes.

The Saturday night, called the Great Sabbath, and the following morning of Easter Day were the times appointed in the Church for Baptism ; and apparently were devoted to this purpose in the army of the Britons. On Easter Day, which this year fell on the 30th of March, a temporary Church was erected with the branches of trees, and adapted to the offices of religion like churches in towns.¹ Hither the people fresh from the waters of Baptism thronged to celebrate the Resurrection of our Lord. While they were thus employed, the enemy who received intelligence of what was going on in the British army immediately seized the opportunity, and advanced towards the camp. Their march was announced just as the Solemnities of Easter were concluded. The neophyte army filled with extraordinary ardour prepared for battle. German acted the part of commander. With some light troops he proceeded to survey the country ; and found in the direction which the enemy would necessarily take, a valley surrounded with high hills. Here he posted the body of his army. Soon after the Saxons and the Picts arrived at the entrance of the valley, secure of victory, and unconscious of any ambuscade. Suddenly a loud shout of Alleluia resounded in the mountains, and Alleluia passed from hill to hill, gathering strength as it was re-echoed on all sides. Consternation filled them at once ; and as if the rocks were ready to fall and crush them, seized with a general panic they immediately took to flight, leaving their arms, baggage, and

¹ Tillemont xv. 18.

even clothes behind them. A large number perished in the river. The Britons who had remained motionless, and were by order of German the authors of the cry of Alleluia, now came forth to collect the spoils of a victory which all acknowledged the gift of Heaven. Thus says Constantius, did Faith obtain a triumph, without slaughter, with two Bishops for leaders. Thus might it be said with a modern writer, does the Church conquer. "Not by strength of arm, by a soldiery, implements of war, strong holds. silver and gold ; for of these she has none ; but by the visible tokens of a Divine ministry ; by the weapons of God."¹

The memory of this battle is still preserved by the inhabitants of Flintshire ; and the place where the armies were situated, bears even now the name of Maes Garmon, or the Field of German. It is about a mile from Mold. A glance at the map will show that the mountainous nature of the country afforded both scope for an ambuscade and a convenient locality for the landing of the Barbarians. To this event, which goes in history by the name of the Alleluiatic Victory, Gregory the Great three hundred years after seems to have alluded, in his Commentary on the Book of Job : "The Faith of the Lord," he says, "has now found entrance into the hearts of almost all people ;² and has united in one bond the Eastern and Western regions. Behold the tongue of the Briton, once wont to howl in barbarous sounds, has since learnt to resound the Hebrew Alleluia in praise to God. The ocean once so boisterous is become subservient to the will of Saints ;

¹ Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p. 274.

² Vid. apud Usserium, p. 333., and Alford, an. 429.

and its rage, which the arm of princes is unable to tame, is fettered by the simple word of God's Priests."

It may seem somewhat strange to the student that Gildas should not have made mention of this signal event, in his History of Britain, previous to the Saxon Conquest. In that work the name of St. German is not once mentioned. It may be answered that Gildas, in another work which, according to the earliest tradition, he was supposed to have written, did probably give a special notice of St. German and his deeds. Walfrid of Monmouth tells us that through St. German and St. Lupus, God manifested many miracles, *which Gildas in his Treatise had clearly set forth*. And we learn that besides his History and Epistle, Gildas wrote an account of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius who lived about this time.¹ And though it may be said that the History of Nennius is often attributed to Gildas by early writers, yet we have no proof that this particular work was the same as the History which now is given to Nennius; besides which Nennius himself in many parts of his book may be looked upon as the Transcriber of Gildas. But furthermore in Gildas's acknowledged history, he is any thing but circumstantial, and he confesses himself that he wrote from foreign report, and not from the records of native writers,² adding that precision in that account was not always to be expected of him. And in truth much of his history is vague and applicable to any revolution caused by foes from without and dissensions within. Again Gildas was further removed from the times he describes than Constantius, and even sup-

¹ See Usher, 335 and 101.

² Transmarinâ relatione, p. 13.

posing he had nowhere commemorated St. German's great deeds, the contrary of which is more probable, yet the confusion which the Saxon Conquest had thrown over the past, and the straits to which Gildas was exposed through emigration, might account for important omissions. But there is more than this, it is believed that in one of his indefinite descriptions of the state of the Britons he has expressly alluded to the Alleluiatic Victory, when he says, "Then for the first time the Britons obtained a victory over the enemy who for many years had occupied their land, *because they confided not in man but in God*, according to the saying of Philo : 'when human aid fails, one must have recourse to Divine assistance.' Then the daring enemies rested for a season ; but the corruption of the Britons afterward returned ; the public foes retired from the land, but not the nation from their crimes."

Now the great objection to this view is, that Gildas assigns the event in question to a time subsequent to the embassy of the Britons to Aetius, which took place in 446. Therefore, it may be said, it could not coincide with St. German's first mission, which we have assigned to 429, though it might if the chronology of Bede and others be preferred to that of Prosper. But without making this any ground for delaying St. German's first mission, for the authority of Gildas in this point would be next to none, still it is very conceivable that Gildas may have referred the victory against the barbarians to his second mission,¹ which in fact did take place after the embassy to Aetius, that is, in 447 ; or may altogether have confounded the two visits of the Saint to this Island, which is the more probable, as

¹ The learned Carte in a note inclines to this also, p. 182.

his imitator, Nennius, who is so full about St. German, does not seem to have been aware of them, and Gildas affords no trace of having been acquainted with Constantius's work ; both he and Nennius following authorities of their own. The learned moreover are agreed that the chronology and precision of Gildas are by no means to be pressed without examination. Yet as there is reason also to think he would not have mentioned a fact without foundation for it, the passage above quoted is conceived to be a real and distinct reference to the Alleluiatic Victory, which was so especially the gift of Heaven.

Lastly, if a conjecture may be hazarded, the very indistinctness in which Bede has involved his chronology of this period, may have arisen from the confusion of the two visits of St. German by Gildas, or at least by his having postponed the Alleluiatic Victory. Induced by Constantius, his chief authority on one hand, he preserved the connexion between the first overthrow of Pelagianism and the Victory, while on the other following Gildas as to the probable date of the latter, because Constantius had assigned none, he transferred the combined circumstances to the late epoch of 449.¹ And this may account in some measure for his seeming neglect of St. Prosper's authority, (if indeed he was acquainted with the copy of that writer's *Chronicon* which has here been considered genuine,) namely, that Gildas had referred the Alleluiatic Victory to a period about twenty years later than that to which St. Prosper assigns the first overthrow of Pelagianism, and Bede did not think himself justified in breaking the connexion which Constantius had observed, a connexion

¹ See *Epit. Eccl. Hist. et Sex Ætat. Mundi.*

which after all Constantius himself may (not impossibly) have been misinformed in.

CHAPTER XV.

English Traditions.

GERMAN and Lupus remained less than a year in Britain, but during that short time they rendered invaluable services to the people. There are many difficulties connected with this part of their history, as regards those facts which are not specified by Constantius. But it is manifest from numerous and circumstantial traditions that they effected a reform in many ways in the political constitution as well as in the Church. Those changes which relate to the former will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, since they properly belong to St. German's second visit to Britain, during which he was brought more directly into intercourse with king Vortigern. The following few traditions, out of many, will illustrate the ecclesiastical and moral improvements which are attributed to the sojourn of German and Lupus in this country.

“The two Bishops,” says an ancient record of high authority, “after having extirpated the Pelagian heresy,¹ consecrated Bishops in many places, but chiefly among the Britons of the Eastern provinces (the Welsh.) Foremost among these was the blessed Dubricius, a doctor of great learning, whom they conse-

¹ Apud Usserium, 79, and Stillingfleet, 207.

crated Archbishop, as elected by the king and the whole diocese. When German had conferred this dignity upon him, they appointed him his Episcopal See, with the consent of Mouricus the king, the princes, the clergy and the people, at Landaff, and dedicated the place to St. Peter the Apostle."

From this centre issued many other distinguished Bishops. Daniel was made Bishop of Bangor, and Iltutus Bishop of Llan Iltut. The whole island in short was filled with the disciples of German.¹ Besides St. Dubricius, St. Iltutus, we hear of St. Thelias, St. Sampson, St. Aidanus, St. David, St. Paulinus, St. Cadocus, surnamed Sophus, or the Wise, (who went to Rome and became Bishop of Beneventum in Italy, where he was murdered before the altar,) St. Briocus, since first Bishop of St. Brieux in Brittany, St. Patrick, St. German (called after St. German of Auxerre,) who went to Scotland, and others.²

Another tradition informs us that "when almost all the inhabitants of Cambridge (which Usher will not allow to be *the* Cambridge) had been endangered by the adversaries of God (the Pelagians,) Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, defended the students with a powerful hand. From their body, it is added, the holy doctors, German and Lupus, selected assistants to help them in expelling the heresy and other errors while they proclaimed the way of God in various parts of the kingdom. By God's aid they came to Caer Leon in Glamorganshire, where they not only taught the Sacred Scriptures, but also instructed the youth in other liberal sciences, wherein reason is the guide and nature the

¹ Collier, tom. i. p. 111. Alford an. 437.

² Bosch. Comm. Præv. vii. Bolland. Usher 339.

study. And thus some became profound in astronomy and other learning, and were able to observe the course of the stars with success ; others foretold prodigies which were to occur about that time among the Britons ; while others despising the world and its enjoyments, from love of a heavenly life cleaving to God alone, turned their devout thoughts to the contemplation of Holy Scripture and to Prayer ; among whom were Tremmerinus, Dubricius, Theonotus, Eldadus, David, Swithunus, Dumianus, who laboured with constancy and proficiency in the exposition of the Scriptures."

Such accounts, while they illustrate the great activity of German and Lupus, are also the foundation somewhat uncertain of the antiquity claimed for the university of Cambridge. There may be some partiality in preferring the claims of Oxford as better supported, but it is rather with a view to show the far spreading influence of our Saints' fame, that the following interesting circumstances are here produced.

" In 886, A. D., we are told, a fierce contention arose in Oxford between Grymbald with the learned men he brought with him and the old students whom he found in that city. These last refused altogether to admit the laws, forms and usages, which Grymbald introduced into the Public Lectures. For the three first years the open dissension was but small, and animosity remained concealed. But afterwards it broke out with great fury. To appease the disturbance, Alfred, that invincible king, says the record, having through Grymbald made himself acquainted with the causes, came to Oxford to put an end to the controversy. Here he underwent much labour in hearing and judging the disputes of the parties. The sum of their quarrel was as follows : The old students affirmed that before Grymbald came

to Oxford, letters had been in a flourishing condition there ; although the numbers of the students had diminished of late from the tyranny of the Pagan conquerors. Moreover they clearly proved by the authority of the Ancient Annals, that the statutes and regulations had been established by men of great piety and learning, such as St. Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern and others, who all grew old in Oxford in the study of letters, and governed with peace and concord. Furthermore that St. German also had come to Oxford and spent half a year there, at the time when he travelled through Britain to oppose the Pelagians ; and he expressed, they affirmed, his admiration distinctly for the statutes of the place. King Alfred having heard both sides, (we do not learn what the opposite school urged in their favour), exerted his authority in recommending unanimity. He then departed, charging them to follow each their respective customs with mutual forbearance. But Grymbald highly displeased at this arbitration, immediately left Oxford for the Monastery of Winchester, which Alfred had recently founded. Afterwards he caused his remains to be buried in the vaults of the Church of St. Peter at Oxford, which Grymbald had erected from the very foundations with *carefully polished stone*."

Without pronouncing upon the authenticity of such evidence, which Camden is more disposed to receive than Usher, there is one circumstance relating to the subject-matter which has not often been noticed, and yet is of some importance. In every large town, it has already been remarked, public schools had been established by the Roman government ; and, after the pattern of Gaul and other provinces of the empire, Professors of Letters, Science, and Philosophy, were main-

tained at the public expense. If, then, Oxford and Cambridge existed in these early times, as chief towns, (and it is probable they did) they would, as a matter of course, have had their schools and literary appointments. The question then is, whether they were destroyed by the Saxon invaders and only restored at a later period, or whether, amid the general havoc occasioned by the invasion, they alone survived, and transmitted their learning and statutes to future generations. Until this matter be settled, it is useless to seek for Universities in Roman times, for all great towns then were privileged with them. The doubt is, whether the connexion remained unbroken, for which the above evidence in favour of Oxford, seems to be in point. *Sed videbunt alii.*

On the whole, says Carte, there is no room to doubt of the institution of schools of learning by St. German, which are attested by many ancient writers, and universally admitted by the learned critics and antiquarians of later ages.¹

But to advert, lastly, to another class of services which German and Lupus are said to have rendered to Britain, a document of the seventh century asserts that they introduced the Gallican Liturgy into the British Church. "The Blessed Cassian" it says, "who lived in the Monastery of Lerins with the blessed Honoratus, and afterwards Honoratus the first Abbot, and St. Cesarius, Bishop of Arles, and St. Porcarius, Abbot also of Lerins, observed this Liturgical Use (the Gallican.) And in the same monastery with them were the blessed German and Lupus as monks, and they also followed the same Rule and the same Use in divine

¹ T. i. p. 182.

service. They, in process of time, obtained the dignity due to their sanctity, and subsequently, in Britain and in the regions of the Scots, came and taught, as we read in the lives of the two Saints."

This statement, of course, is faulty in many respects. We do not hear of Cassian having lived at Lerins. St. Victor, at Marseilles, was his monastery. Though St. Lupus was monk at Lerins, St. German is nowhere else said to have resided there, and the circumstances of his life would not well admit of it. The main information, however, which the author intended to convey, namely, that German and Lupus introduced the Liturgical Use of Gaul into Britain, may nevertheless be authentic. The Public Service of the Church at that time was not so universally settled as to make this introduction an irregularity, even supposing there were no adequate sanction for it. Nor is this the place to draw invidious distinctions between the Roman and the Gallican Liturgy, as Stillingfleet and Collier are pleased to do ;¹ we must beware of carrying modern prejudices and controversies into the study of the ancients, just as (to borrow an illustration from a recent writer) we may not seek Calvinism in St. Augustine, or Arminianism in St. Chrysostom.

¹ Still. Orig. 221. Collier i. 112.

CHAPTER XVI.

St. German's Return to Gaul.

THE two Bishops, having accomplished the object of their journey, by suppressing the heresy of the Pelagians, and done other great deeds for the Britons, after the lapse of about a year, embarked again for Gaul, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude assembled to see them off. They carried with them the sacred dust from St. Alban's tomb, and arrived safe at the opposite coast. They afterwards parted company, and returned to their respective Sees.

St. Lupus, of whom we must now take a final leave, governed the Church of Troyes for many years, during which he saved that city from the fury of Attila, king of the Huns, and distinguished himself by his learning, wisdom, and heroic sanctity. Notwithstanding a life of excessive austerity, he protracted his existence to the great age of ninety-six, and died in 479, in the fifty-second year of his Episcopate, about twenty years after the death of his old companion German. This is one of those instances, among many others, which made Lord Bacon wonder that the ancient Saints, with their rigid asceticism, should have lived so long.

St. German was accompanied on his return by one of his new disciples, St. Briocus, before mentioned. St. Briocus was a Briton of a noble family. St. German instructed him in the science of holiness, and Briocus greatly profited by his precepts. After he had

drunk deep, says history, at the fountains of sound doctrine, he returned from Gaul to his country ; and there taught his parents the true faith, and went about preaching everywhere. Being desirous, however, of improving more abundantly the talent of the Lord, he retired to Armorica, or Brittany, in Gaul. Here he effected the conversion of Count Conan, and baptized him. Then collecting some persons anxious to lead a religious life, he erected a Monastery at St. Brioux, so called after himself, on the foundations granted by Conan. He then received the Episcopal consecration, from the Metropolitan of Tours, and presided over his diocese with great honour for nearly thirty years. Finally, having gone to Angers on ecclesiastical business, he there breathed his last.¹ St. Briocus may be taken as a specimen of St. German's missionary success.

¹ Usher 997. Alford an. 437.

ERRATA.

Page 61, lines 25 and 30, for Marmontier read Marmoutier.

Page 119, line 18, for St. *Jerome* read St. *Sulpitius*.

CHAPTER XVII.

Twelve Years.

A GREAT work accomplished, a great event brought to pass through him or before his eyes, a man's character is at once altered ; he is suddenly raised in the scale of being. The change is not merely outward, it is not a mere shifting of position ; for though all before was in preparation, and the materials were in readiness, yet the combining power of one action seems to bring out of them a new nature—a new life. Those elements which were either disjoined or connected without unity, now become one, and assume a shape and permanent consistency. Moreover as all true knowledge resides in the relation of ideas, and knowledge has a tendency to produce confidence, when circumstances throw a fresh light upon this relation, man seems to acquire a further insight into his own character and condition, and his confidence, whether in himself or in Him whose instrument he is, is proportionably increased. We have but to consider what the feelings are of a warrior who has just gained his first great battle—what he was yesterday, what to-day ; or again, the emotions and thoughts of one who has escaped from the grasp of death and been restored to health and powers of reflection ; or the ideas which unexpected preservation from the terrors of the sea excite in the breast of those who are safely landed ; and we shall understand something of that mysterious change which one action, one event can effect in man.

St. German's victory over the Pelagians is an instance of such a change. His original Biographer is

indeed silent on the subject. Near in time to the circumstances of his life, Constantius sees the Saint from beginning to end ; and in one sense he may be right. No one is chosen to be general who has not given proof of his skill. St. German was doubtless well suited to the great work he accomplished in Britain. Yet on attentive reflection we cannot help looking upon him as a higher being after than before. His previous austerities, prayers, acts of mercy, deeds of power and energy were exercises and tokens of the same character—but here is the sacrament, here God's seal and justification. This is strengthened by a further consideration.

As great actions are made the occasion of God's approval, so they are a kind of signal to men in general to determine their appreciation of an individual character. Whether it be from some vicious infirmity in the large body of mankind, or from some wise provision of Almighty God, so it is, that the greatest excellences may fail to attract that notice which they ought, unless some definite and producible object of men's ideas and language be brought out by new circumstances. It is surprising how general opinion changes by a new phasis of the same qualities and powers. What before was a timid and half-recognized regard becomes at once avowed and ardent admiration.

Something of this kind is perceptible in St. German's life. On the one hand he seems to be really a more exalted being after his mission to Britain ; on the other he is the object of an universal enthusiasm out of proportion, as it were, with the nature of the change. It is subsequently to that period, that we hear of multitudes thronging from all quarters to obtain a sight of him, to get his blessing, to try his miraculous gifts ; and that

the welfare of Gaul is supposed to be endangered if he be not enlisted in its service, political as well as ecclesiastical. What death accomplishes for other Saints, stamping their virtues and achievements with a sure seal, this was done for St. German, (it may be said without partiality) by his Apostolic ministry in our Island. Contrast with his the lives of other eminent Saints. St. Chrysostom or St. Jerome, for instance, were, if any, illustrious servants of Christ ; yet before their death we can hardly say that they obtained that acknowledged and unqualified reverence which partakes of the honour paid to Canonized Saints. In the case however of the first Apostles we think we discern from the very beginning those tokens of a veneration, ever after to belong to them. "The sick were brought forth into the streets, and laid on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them."¹ "From the body of Paul were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them."² Let the reader judge by the history of St. German's life subsequent to his return from Britain, whether he did not obtain after the first twelve years of his ministry a considerable portion of that outward honour, which the immediate Apostles of Christ owned from the beginning at Pentecost. It is usually said that every one Saint is exalted above all others, according as he is made the object of particular attention, or has local and accidental claims upon our regard. But this can never serve as a test. A case given, it cannot antecedently be pronounced of inferior

¹ Acts v. 15.² Acts xix. 12.

merits on a principle so vague as this. After all, the facts which constitute the case must first be examined, and to these in the present instance the reader is referred.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Towns of Gaul.

THE return of St. German to Auxerre was in the year 430. About a year had elapsed since his departure. His absence had been much felt. For while he on one hand raised the Church to a condition of great honour in Gaul, on the other, he was called upon to act the part of magistrate; and his conduct showed that he knew how to defend the interests of his fellow-citizens.

Auxerre, as we have observed before, though implicated in the general devastations of the Goths, did not till a later period remain long in the possession of any barbarian people. The Burgundians, who occupied a large district of Gaul to the south-east, had stretched their boundaries to the neighbourhood of Auxerre, but the city itself and its dependent territories did not then, or indeed ever, belong to them, as some have supposed.¹ The Franks who at a subsequent period, about 482, extended their kingdom over this part of Gaul, were, at the time of St. German's return, shut up in a small district to the north of Gaul.² And the Goths had

¹ Vid. D'Anville. Descript. France. Thierry Lettres. Bouquet. tom. i. 805, ad notas Tillemont, xv. 838.

² Gibbon, tom. iv. 277-283.

passed on to the south-west, where they had established a large principality, which was every day increasing. But that long strip of land, which follows the course of the Saône and then the Rhone down to the sea, still belonged to the Romans, who also were masters of the whole of the northern provinces.

During German's absence an unusual tribute had been laid by these last authorities upon the inhabitants of Auxerre, the burden of which excited the most bitter complaints. This town however was but a single example of a general system of oppression which then prevailed, and was one of the prominent characteristics of the age. Among other various reasons for it, the Roman government had daily become more urgent in its demands for supplies; and the provinces of Gaul as being in the centre of war, were the special victims of all kinds of exaction. Up to this time Aetius, the chief defence of the Empire since the death of Stilicho, had been at the head of the Roman armies in Gaul. He was opposing at once the Burgundians in one quarter, the Franks in another, the Goths in another, and the Insurgents¹ in a fourth. To enable him to maintain sufficient troops, the Government drained the land of men and money. In fact, as Salvian says, "the Roman Republic was either entirely extinct in Gaul, or in those parts where it seemed to be still breathing, the heavy fetters of tribute were fast suffocating its dying energies."²

What these impositions were, may best be conceived from the same author's language of grief. The burden of them fell on the poor and middle classes, while the powerful took occasion of them to augment their own wealth. "The Prefecture, which was the highest civil

¹ Bacaudæ.

² p. 75.

office of the province, was too often, he says, but an excuse for plunder : the dignity of the imperial magistrates¹ a mere field for the pillage of towns.”² The methods resorted to were of the following nature. First there was a general heavy task laid upon every city, “the effects of which however severe and cruel, would at least have been tolerable, if all had shared them equally : but what made them the more invidious, the indigent had to bear all the imposts, the rich were exempt.”³

Furthermore there were often laid on individual cities, besides the general assessment, extraordinary taxes.⁴ “This was the way, he continues ; new messengers arrived, secretaries and bearers of letters sent from the chief officers of the crown. They were introduced to the nobles of the city, and with them decreed the ruin of the people : new taxes were forthwith resolved and published, and the poor had to pay.”⁵ The nobles, who assisted the extortions of the governors, might pretend to submit to the public tribute, but they always left the discharge of it to the people. And not content with this, contrived to increase their own private exactions under colour of public demands ; the consequences of which seem to have been the most grievous calamity of the time.

To all the severe and even unnecessary measures which the administration enforced, the people might cheerfully have acceded, and accepted the emergencies of war as an excuse, though often unjust, if they had met with kindness and equity among their own rich citizens and nobles. Nothing can exceed the picture which has been left of the barbarity of the nobles to-

¹ Sublimium.

² p. 72.

³ p. 110.

⁴ Adjectiones tributarias.

⁵ p. 110.

wards the poor. We might be at a loss among so many proofs to select any in preference, but the following fact, related by the same contemporary author, will serve at least to indicate the spirit of the times. Salvian is intending to illustrate the facility with which men forswore themselves and took Christ's name in vain. "A short time ago," he says, "at the earnest request of a certain poor man, I went to intercede with a powerful nobleman. I entreated him not to rob an indigent and wretched person of his small substance ; not to take away the poor pittance which supported his need. The nobleman, who had coveted his little property with a rabid desire, and was already devouring in expectation his spoils, turned his fierce eyes towards me, with frightful expression, as if he thought I wished to take away from him that which he was only desired not take away himself. 'He could by no means comply with my request,' he answered, and seemed to imply that some sacred order or deed bound him to refuse me. I asked the cause of his denial. 'A most urgent cause,' he replied. 'I have sworn, by the name of Christ, that I will take away this property ; and you see, he continued, that I can not, may not, refrain from what I have thus pledged myself to.' The crime which could claim religion for its excuse silenced me. What could I do when such a theory of justice and religion was propounded ? I therefore departed."¹

The consequence of these multiplied miseries was a threefold political evil. The poor, and in general those who happened to be inferiors to the nobles, or the provincial senatorial class of men which then occupied an important station, were at last forced "to deliver them-

¹ p. 91.

selves up to the more powerful citizens ; they became the *Dedititii* of the rich, that is, neither more nor less than their slaves : their very property and right.”¹ The important class of the *Curiales*, or those Burghers who had enjoyed many privileges and offices within their towns, was now fast disappearing. Every where men were selling their patrimony and themselves, for a temporary support and defence. “These poor sufferers, who might seem to be gaining a protection, first gave up almost their whole substance to their protectors ; whereby the fathers were indeed protected, but the sons lost their inheritance : the price of protection to the one was mendicity to the others.”² The immense accession of numbers which thus accrued to the afflicted class of the *Coloni*, or Tenants, and Slaves can hardly be calculated. “When men have lost their houses and are expelled their estates, by unjust appropriation, or by extortion, they then betake themselves to the farms of the powerful ; they become in short the *Coloni*, the Tenants of the rich.”³ Many who were thus degraded were persons who had previous wealth and respectability to boast of. “No longer able to keep the mansion or the dignity of their birthright, they were obliged to submit to the abject yoke of a Tenant.”⁴

On the other hand many abandoned their own country, gave up the name and ties of Romans, which formerly were deemed an honour to Gaul, and went over to the barbarians, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks. It was a sad sight to see “many who were born of respectable families, and had received a liberal education, flee for safety to the enemy, to escape the death of a public persecution at home, and seek

¹ p. 113.² p. 113.³ p. 114.⁴ p. 115.

among barbarians those humane feelings which were thought to belong only to the Roman world.”¹ Here of course they were captives ; but it is remarked that such captivity was preferable to liberty at home ; those titles of franchise which were so long the glory of the municipal city, were now but empty rights. “The Roman name was becoming vile, nay even abhorred.”²

Lastly, the oppression of the inferior classes in Gaul produced an extensive and alarming rebellion ; and a vast confederacy of Insurgents, who went by the name of *Bacaudæ*, gradually was formed within the Roman dominions. Their chief seat was in those maritime provinces, which border the English channel, and went by the generic name of *Armorica*. Here they seem to have settled into a kind of Republic, which gave constant exercise to the Roman Generals, who endeavoured to suppress it, and bring back the seceding countries to the empire. An occasion will present itself hereafter of considering more at length this *Armorican* confederacy, or *Bacaudæ*, as they furnished the last field for St. German’s untiring exertions. It is sufficient here to mark this fact which by contemporary authors was declared to be the express result of the oppression of the poor in the Roman provinces. “We call them rebels, says Salvian, and abandoned men ; yet we are they who have compelled them to be such. For what is the cause of their becoming *Bacaudæ*, unless it be our injustices, the iniquities of our magistrates, the proscription and pillage exercised upon them . . . the tributary extortion practised with regard to them ?”³

To relieve his people at Auxerre, who were now

¹ p. 107.

² p. 108.

³ p. 108.

suffering from these evils, was the immediate purpose of German. When extraordinary taxes were laid upon a city too poor to answer the demand, there were such things as *remedies* in use at the time. These remedies,¹ as the expression was, were simply dispensations granted by the Prefect, the first magistrate; and though such dispensations, in many cases, were perverted by the nobles to the grossest excesses of private extortion, yet if German could but provide one for his people, he might in a great measure secure it from abuses elsewhere prevalent. Bishops in the fifth century were the stay of the people—the only one; and Bishops at that time were Saints and heroes. Careless, therefore, of fatigue, though he had undergone so much of late, he immediately prepared for another journey.

CHAPTER XIX.

St. German at Arles.

THE seat of government was then at Arles, as it has been remarked, and there the Prefect of all Gaul resided. It is necessary to be precise in all these particulars, since serious chronological mistakes, for want of distinctness, seem to have here been made by many writers. *Auxiliaris* was the name of the Prefect, as *Constantius* plainly says; from which circumstance many have thought the date of this extraordinary taxing which German found on his return, was as late

¹ *Remedia*.

as 444, A. D., if not later, because there is a famous letter of Auxiliaris to St. Hilary,¹ of Arles, written in 444, wherein the former endeavours to reconcile Hilary with Pope Leo, and which he wrote, we learn, when he was Prefect ; and they have urged this as a reason for postponing German's visit to Britain. But the diligence of the Bollandists has shown that Auxiliaris was no longer Prefect of Gaul when he wrote this, but Prefect of Rome or Italy ; which assertion is supported by the learned Bouquet, Pagi, Baluzius, and Quesnel :² and moreover, an inscription which is still to be seen at Narbonne, seems to prove that Marcellus, not Auxiliaris, was Prefect of Gaul between 441 and 445. So far, therefore, from anything in this circumstance invalidating the date we have assigned to German's return from Britain, (i. e. the year 430) if the fact be true that Auxiliaris had ceased to be Prefect of Gaul in 444, this is in itself a satisfactory reason for placing the mission of St. German to our island in 429.

German set off then to Arles, with a very small company, and with a scanty supply of provisions. Christ, says Constantius, was gold and silver to him. The great Roman road to Arles would pass through Autun, Châlons, Tournus, Mâcon, Belleville, Anse, Lyon, Vienne, St. Rambert, St. Vallier, Thain, Valence, Le Bégude, Ancoune, St. Pol Tricartin, Orange, Avignon, and St. Gabriel,³ the whole of which was signalized by some token of his Apostolical gifts.

The day was a rainy one when he left Auxerre ; towards the evening, as he had passed the boundaries

¹ Vid. Laccary Hist. Gall. sub. Præf. 137.

² Historiens de la Gaule, t. i. p. 643. Quesnel. Diss. t. ii. p. 784. Biogr. Univ. Art. Hilaire.

³ Itin. Anton. in Descrip. de Gaule, B. 40, Bodl. Libr.

of his diocese, he was overtaken by a traveller who had neither shoes nor coat. Grieved to see his nakedness, German suffered him to lodge under the same roof at night. But while he and his attendants were employed in their devotions, the stranger carried off by stealth the horse on which the Bishop rode. The next morning the theft was discovered. One of the clerical attendants offered his horse to German. They then proceeded on their way, not without the surprise of all in witnessing the unwonted serenity which appeared in his countenance. One of them asked the reason. "Let us wait a while," he said, "for we shall see that the action of that unfortunate man has been of little benefit to him : he will soon be coming up out of breath." They then halted, and shortly after beheld the thief advancing on foot, and leading after him the horse he had taken. When he arrived, he fell down at German's feet and confessed his crime, adding, that during the whole night he had found himself unable to get away or move one step, until he had resolved to restore the animal. German answered ; " If yesterday I had given thee a cloak, there had been no need of stealing. Receive, therefore, this one as a supply for thy wants, and restore that which is my property." The stranger then departed with the garment, in addition to the pardon of his offence.

German wished not to make his journey public, but to reach the object of it with as little display as he could. But his character was now too well known, and his virtues like a city built on a hill could not escape the view of men. While on one hand he abstained from all the so called comforts of life, he avoided on the other the officious attention and concourse of strangers. There was not, however, a village or town in his way,

but all the inhabitants came out by multitudes to await his passage, and follow his steps. Men with their wives and children came flocking around him, and left him only when a fresh escort arrived to relieve them.

The first district he travelled through was that of Auxois, where there lived a Presbyter called Senator, conspicuous for his birth as well as his piety. German had been long acquainted with him, as well as his wife Nectariola, who, according to the tolerated custom of the time, continued in the same house in the capacity of sister.¹ He accordingly accepted the hospitality they offered him. There indeed was not much to offer; but one peculiar circumstance occurred. Nectariola, unseen, placed some straw in the bed which was prepared for him, and German unconsciously slept upon it during the intervals which he reserved from his nightly prayers and psalmody.² When day returned he departed; Nectariola then took up the straw in which he had lain, and concealed it. Some days after, one Agrestius, a person of considerable birth, who was married and had children, fell a victim to the influence of an Evil Spirit. His relations grieved that German was no longer present to relieve him. As it was, there appeared no remedy, till the wife of Senator, Nectariola, having brought forth the straw she had treasured up, enveloped the afflicted man with it. In this state he remained a whole night, calling the while upon the name of German. The next morning he was delivered of the Evil Spirit and never after visited by it.

¹ Conf. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, tom. i. p. 152, ubi *Canons of the Council of Tours*, 567, A. D. Ibid. p. 157. Dupin *Eccl. Hist.* tom. ii. 3rd Canon of the Council of Nice. Bingham, B. II. Ch. xxii. p. 101 and 155.

² Vid. Baillet *Vie de Saints*, xxxi. Jul.

In the meantime, German was continuing his journey. Arrived at Mâcon, on the banks of the Saône, a river noted for its slow course, which gave it the Celtic name of Arar in antiquity,¹ he left the high-road and advanced by the water towards Lyons. Lyons was one of the principal towns of Gaul in the early ages of Christianity. The church established there we are told was of Greek institution, as its origin, rites and bishops indicated. Nearly two centuries before this time it had been the scene of one of the most dreadful persecutions, and illustrious both for the glory of its martyrs and the holiness of its bishops, among whom was St. Irenæus.² It is situated at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saône. Some have thought that St. Euchèr was at this time Bishop of Lyons ; but evidence seems to be against the supposition. Constantius, who was a priest in that church, would scarcely have omitted this occasion of introducing him to the reader.³ Senator, his predecessor, apparently governed the church when German arrived there. The traveller was received by a large concourse of people of all rank and age. Every one endeavoured to come near to him. Some demanded his blessing ; others were content with touching him ; and others again rejoiced if they could but get a sight of him. Here he performed many miraculous cures upon sick persons : and preached to the multitude who thronged to hear him. Not being able, however, to stay as long as they wished, he hastened to proceed to Arles. But his sojourn at Lyons, short

¹ Sidon. Apoll. not. ad Lib. ii. p. 237, Recens. Edit. D'Anville says it was called the Sacconna from the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, yet after him Constantius calls it Arar, and so Sidon. Apoll.

² Vid. Eusebius. ³ See Tillemont, tom. xv. Vie de St. Euchèr.

as it was, left a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, and was the original occasion of the biography of St. German, which Constantius the Presbyter of Lyons wrote at the request of his Bishop, St. Patiens. The letter in which he expressed his compliance with the desire of St. Patiens is still in existence.

“Constantius the sinner, sendeth greeting to his blessed and Apostolical Lord and ever revered Patron, Patiens. It is with reason that among the virtues obedience claims the highest rank. By it many attempt at least what they feel unequal to. And therefore they must be considered worthy of the praise due to devotedness, who, regardless of their own inability, submit to those that order. This being the case, since you desire, most revered Pontiff,¹ to have the wondrous gifts of a holy man set forth conspicuously, and to propose the example of his miracles as an instructive lesson to all ; and have frequently enjoined me to transmit, as well as I could, to the present and future generations, the Life of that great Saint, German the Bishop, too much obscured by silence ; I therefore accede to the work with boldness, though, at the same time, I feel conscious of presumption. Do you grant the pardon ; for I might perhaps allege that some guilt attaches to your own judgment ; you ought to have chosen a better workman for such high materials. However, we are both acting up to the principle of Love ; you think me capable when I am not, I obey readily your authoritative injunction. Pray, therefore, for me, that my labour may, through your intercession, obtain that favour which it lays no claim to on the score of desert. Farewell ! long days in Christ to thee, blessed

¹ Papa venerabilis.

prelate. Ever remember me." Thus early were Saints' Lives composed for the edification of the Christian people.

There were two ways from Lyons to Arles, either by water down the Rhone, as the custom till very late has continued,¹ or by the great Roman road which had been constructed as far as Narbonne, and which was one of the four *Vie Agrippinæ*; and perhaps to this two-fold way of travelling, an allusion is made by Sidonius Apollinaris in the following verses.

“Hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
Hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
Stridentum et moderator essedorum,
Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
Responsantibus alleluia ripis
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.
Sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator;
Namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
Omnes quo via ducit ad salutem.”²

It is conjectured by those that live on the spot, that the former way would most naturally be taken by the traveller. German, however, soon reached the term of his journey. As in other places, he was received at Arles amid the congratulations of the whole city. St. Hilary had lately succeeded to St. Honoratus in the Bishopric, or rather Archbishopric, of Arles. This town was then the first in Gaul. “It is an acknowledged fact, said the Bishops of the province in a letter to St. Leo, among all the people of Gaul and also in the holy church of Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which received St. Trophimus, sent by the blessed

¹ Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.

² Vid. Epis. x. Lib. ii. et Notes. Ed. 1836.

Apostle Peter (that is apparently one of his successors) and that the gift of the Faith was conveyed to the rest of Gaul through this channel...therefore it is by right and justice that Arles has always had the chief rank in this church."¹ It was not till some time after the period under consideration, that the church of Vienne claimed the precedence, owing to the dispute of St. Leo and St. Hilary.² At Arles, moreover, was fixed the residence of the Prefect of Gaul; it had succeeded to Treves in political importance, and had been particularly favoured by Constantine the Great, who had given it the name of Constantia. Here also tyrants had fixed their abode and dealt out the honours of the Empire. The advantages of its situation are thus described in an imperial rescript:³

"The city of Arles is so conveniently situated, strangers resort to it in such great numbers, its commerce is so extensive, that whatever is of foreign growth or manufacture, is to be found there. The wealth of the opulent East, of perfumed Arabia, luxurious Syria, fertile Africa, beautiful Spain and hardy Gaul, abounds in this place to such a degree, that every thing magnificent to be seen in other parts of the world, seems here to be the very produce of the soil. The union of the Rhine and the Mediterranean brings together the territories which they respectively water; and the whole earth seems to contribute its stores to the advantage of the town: by land and by sea and by river, carts, ships, barges, are continually carrying into its bosom the riches they have amassed."

¹ Epist. Leon. Ed. Quesnel, p. 539, Vol. I.

² Alford ad an. 440.

³ See Bouquet. tom. i. 766. and notes. Guizot, Europe.

But the chief pride of this second Tyre was its great Bishops. Holiness seemed to be the heritage of that church. St. Hilary who was then presiding over it, was, says Constantius, a man endowed with every virtue, a burning torrent of divine eloquence, an indefatigable labourer in the duties of his office, who alone spread a lustre over the diocese he governed. The reception he gave to German corresponded with the character he held. Though a metropolitan Bishop, he was much the younger of the two, having lately left the monastery of Lerins at the age of twenty-nine.¹ On the present occasion, we are told, his demeanour towards the more aged Prelate who came to visit him was that of a son to his father, and his respect like that due to an Apostle. From this time perhaps may be dated the intimacy which arose between these two eminent Saints, although there is nothing to prevent it having had an earlier origin.²

However, Auxiliaris the Prefect did not allow his friend Hilary to outstrip him in attentions to their distinguished guest. Unlike many who had filled the same high office, Auxiliaris was a faithful servant of the Church and its ministers, as he well proved afterwards in his endeavours to reconcile St. Leo with St. Hilary. He had long been desirous to know German, of whom he had heard much ; and the tidings of his arrival were highly acceptable to him. Another cause contributed to this satisfaction ; his wife had been for some time afflicted with a severe ague, and he expected German could afford relief. Before, therefore, he had entered the city, he went out to meet him. His surprise was

¹ Biog. Uni. ad vocem Hil.

² Vid. Tillem. xv. 64.

not small to find German superior to the fame he had acquired : the dignity of his countenance, his learning, his authoritative manner of speaking, filled the prefect with admiration. He offered presents, and pressed the acceptance of them. Then he acquainted him with the sickness of his wife, upon which German, without delay, accompanied him to his residence. Here he found the sufferer, and immediately healed her. The relater of this miracle is careful to attribute the departure of her fever and shiverings to the joint power of German and the faith of the lady.

Having explained the object of his journey, he easily obtained the desired *remedium*, or exemption from tribute, for the people of Auxerre. He then hastened to carry back the joyful intelligence. His presence, however, was best able to infuse true pleasure into their hearts : when he was with them, they could be content under all circumstances.

German seems occasionally to have taken long journeys through different parts of Gaul for the purpose of reviving the religious spirit of his countrymen. At this time the interference of one bishop with another in the administration of their dioceses, might not under some circumstances be deemed obtrusive. The invasion of the Barbarians had spread so great an appearance of anarchy over the country, that the Bishops might in some sense consider themselves appointed collectively over the whole country, as one diocese, to restore discipline and kindle religion wherever they could. The zeal and holiness which distinguished the Bishops of the time, would also naturally encourage this understanding between them, and supersede any regular dispensation. It is perhaps on this principle that we find German, on one occasion, preaching within the diocese

of Auvergne, which had Bishops of its own, one of whom, several years after, was the illustrious Sidonius Apollinaris. Some have thought German came to Brioude, in Auvergne, on his way back from Arles to Auxerre, just after his interview with Auxiliaris;¹ but though it would not have taken him much out of his way to pass by Auvergne, yet his anxiety to reach his native country would scarcely have allowed him to take a circuitous course, especially over a hilly country; and Constantius seems to mark distinctly his return to Auxerre before his expedition to Auvergne, which he does not assign to any particular time.² When he came to Brioude, he found the inhabitants perplexed to know on what day they ought to celebrate the martyrdom of St. Julian. St. Julian is one of the most famous martyrs of the French church. He was a native of Vienne, and of noble birth, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution while Maximian governed the Western Empire.³ At the advice of his friend Ferreolus the Tribune, he had retired to Brioude, in Auvergne, where the messengers of Crispinus the governor, found him and beheaded him. His body was interred at Brioude, and his head carried to Vienne. Gregory of Tours, who has written a special book about this martyr, tells us that many miracles were performed at his tomb; and the same Gregory considered himself under the immediate protection of St. Julian.⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris also before him, remarks, in a letter to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, (an eminent Saint of the fifth century,⁵ who instituted the Days of Rogation,)

¹ Baillet *Vie des Saints*, xxviii. August.

² Sidon. Apoll. Lib. II. Lett. ix. p. 168, and not. p. 221.

³ Baillet, xxviii. Aug.

⁴ De Gloria Martyr.

⁵ Epis. i. lib. vi. p. 158.

the great honour in which St. Julian's remains were held ; and it was, in all probability, to the tomb of St. Julian that a pilgrimage was prepared by the relations of Sidonius. He describes it as full of danger, on account of the distressed state of the country from the outrages of the barbarians,¹ and at the same time commends their piety, for the design they had conceived.

When German perceived the cause of the people's grief, he said to them, " Let us pray to God. Perhaps he will reveal to us the day." When evening came, and all had retired, German, according to his custom, passed the whole night in prayer. On the following morning, he called together the chief persons of the town, and enquired whether they had had any revelation. When they answered in the negative, " Well then," said he, " know that the 28th of August is to be celebrated as St. Julian's Festival ; for I have learnt, by divine intimation, that on that day the blessed Martyr was murdered by the Pagans." When he had said this, the people present were filled with joy, and returned thanks to the Bishop for his services. It will be seen from this instance, how early importance was attached to the particular day of a Saint's death, in order to determine the Festival in his honour. No ordinary day would satisfy the people of Auvergne, and a general gloom had spread over them.

Few of the events of German's life, between his return from Britain to his second journey thither, which occupied a period of above sixteen years, have been transmitted to us by Constantius, and we have no means of supplying the deficiency from other sources, with the exception of one or two circumstances. St.

¹ Epist. vi. lib. iv. p. 337.

Hilary, we have seen, had contracted a great friendship with German,¹ which some carry up to an earlier period than the visit to Arles just related. It has been thought that Hilary was present at the Council which chose German and Lupus to go over to Britain, which is described as having been a very numerous one ; and certain it is, that could it be proved that it was held at Arles, according to Garnier's conjecture, Hilary must have been present. But without hazarding guesses, it appears that Hilary went often to see German, at Auxerre, although this town was out of his diocese, and the Bishop of Sens was German's metropolitan ; and he consulted him, we learn, upon all the questions relating to Church matters, that is, according to Honoratus of Marseilles, in his life of Hilary, "concerning the mode of government, and conduct of the different Bishops, whether their virtues or their faults."² It was this very vigilance which occasioned him trouble. The Archbishop of Arles assumed the superintendence of all the Churches of Gaul, which did not a little displease the See of Rome. About the year 444, Hilary paid a visit to German. As soon as his arrival was made known, divers persons of importance and many others, came to the two Bishops, and brought complaints of Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon, saying that he had in former times married a widow, and when entrusted with an office in the civil government, had condemned some persons to death ;³ both which things were accounted an obstacle to the elevation of any one to a

¹ Tillemont, t. xv. p. 64.

p. 743. t. i. Quesnel, and Bolland. ad v. Mail.

³ Tillemont, xv. 71.

Bishopric. Hilary and German then ordered the proofs to be produced. Many great Bishops assembled to be present at the discussion, among whom was St. Eucher of Lyons. It is believed that this Council was held at Besançon, at which, also, Hilary presided, not Eucher of Lyons, as being a junior Bishop. There the question was maturely weighed, and it was proved that Chelidonius had in fact married a widow ; consequently, he was called on to resign his episcopal office, and another was elected in his place. The decree of the Council was supported by the Patrician Aetius and the Prefect Marcellus. This sentence led to serious results. Chelidonius went to Rome and laid his cause at the feet of St. Leo, the Pope, who, notwithstanding Hilary's explanations, espoused the cause of the former, and re-established him in his See. Hilary, who had also gone to Rome, became the object of Leo's resentment, which, to all appearances, was anything but just, and did not even end with the death of the holy Bishop of Arles. It is supposed by Stillingfleet that German also was involved in the disgrace which Hilary then suffered with respect to the See of Rome. This, indeed, may be partly granted ; yet, there is no reason to suppose him to have forfeited the estimation of Pope Leo in 444, except so far as related to this deposition of Chelidonius. But it would be absurd to infer with him, that this circumstance, which occurred in 444, must have made German obnoxious to Pope Celestine fifteen years before. At *that* time, Hilary was quite a young man, and just elected to Arles, and an intimacy with him was not in such abhorrence at Rome, as to injure German's character. On the other hand, there is no sufficient reason to suppose German, in his second voyage to Britain, which took place in 446, to have

acted against Leo's wishes ; it would be lending unjust motives to one who had the virtues of a Saint, and who must have been acquainted with the services which German had rendered to the Britons, services which few, perhaps none other, could confer.

The other circumstance not mentioned by Constantius, but by Hericus, the monk of Auxerre, (who, though a writer of the ninth century, may, as far as the general fact is concerned, be considered a sufficient authority,) relates to the meeting of German and St. Anian, the famous Bishop of Orleans. This was the St. Anian who not long after, by his prayers, saved the town of Orleans from the fury of Attila, who was besieging it, and to whom the sceptic Gibbon has not disclaimed to pay the tribute of admiration. Had Hericus not mentioned his interview with St. German, we might infer it from the mere probabilities. Their Sees were near, they were within the same civil jurisdiction, they were contemporaries, they were the same in life, doctrine, holiness. The traditions which record it are such as the following. There was a Church dedicated to St. German, in the time of Hericus, in one of the suburbs of Orleans. Here it was said St. Anian had met St. German. A peal of bells, which had suddenly been rung without any human assistance, had announced to him the arrival of his brother of Auxerre. He had collected a great number of his Clergy, and coming out to receive him, had advanced to this spot. When the time came for German to return, St. Anian accompanied him out of Orleans. They were met by a bier, on which was laid the corpse of an only son ; the mother was walking beside it. The two Saints demurred for a short time which should have the honour of restoring the child of this second widow of

Nain. St. German consented at last ; and brought again the dead son to life. The subject of this great miracle lived to an old age, says the repeater of the tradition ; and there is no doubt that a Church was dedicated to St. German, at the place where it occurred.

CHAPTER XX.

His Second Visit to Britain.

GERMAN was now advanced in age ; he had governed the diocese of Auxerre for twenty-nine years, and had obtained the highest reputation over all Gaul for his miracles, holiness, and learning. His advice was sought by the whole Church on important matters, and distinguished men came to hear him discourse, and profit by his instructions. In the year 447, the intelligence was again brought to Gaul from Britain, of a revival of the Pelagian heresy in the latter country. There were few, it was said, who disturbed the peace of the nation, but the danger was every day increasing. German was again called to restore the doctrine which he before so signally had defended. As on the occasion of his previous mission he was requested by all to undertake the office of Apostle, so he was on this ; yet we are not able to determine whether any Council was assembled, or any peculiar authority, over and above the original commission which he had received, was required.¹ There is reason, however, to conjecture

¹ Const. had said, “*Preces omnium ad virum beatissimum deferuntur.*” Bede adds to *omnium* the word *sacerdotum*.

that a Synod was held at Trèves,¹ and that in consequence, Severus, the Bishop of that town, whose exertions in the north of Gaul for the promotion of religion had made him renowned, was elected to accompany German on his second voyage. Severus was the disciple, says Bede, of St. Lupus.²

During the interval which had elapsed from German's first journey to Britain to his second, the condition of this island had been anything but peaceful. Vortigern, to whom the reader has already been introduced, had by this time been elected king of the Britons. This event some assign to the year 438 ; but very little chronological certainty can here be expected. The character of Vortigern has come down to posterity with all the colours applied to unpopular tyrants. That his reign was compassed with more than ordinary difficulties cannot be denied. "When he was king," says Nennius,³ "he was kept in suspense by continual apprehensions of danger from the Picts and Scots, from the remnant of the Romans ready to attack, and the exploits of Ambrosius ;" while the Saxons who surrounded the country with their piratical skiffs were ever waiting to profit by his vacillations and imprudences. Still the most charitable interpretation cannot rescue him from very serious charges, namely, of gross immorality and irreligion. It is probably to this time that the pathetic declamations of the historian Gildas about the sins of the nation are to be ascribed.⁴ The temporary return to religion and good manners

¹ Not in 449, according to Mansi Concilia, for German was then dead, and the Saxons had invaded Britain.

² Bed. lib. i. ch. 21. ³ p. 24.

⁴ Collier, p. 108.

occasioned by the distress which the invaders had produced, and by the visit of German and Lupus, had been followed by a different course of life so soon as the barbarians were defeated.¹ The orthodoxy of the nation indeed remained comparatively pure, but peace brought plenty, and plenty produced luxury and libertinism.² The principles of the people degenerated daily, and defied the coercion of all Ecclesiastical discipline. "When the aggressions of the enemy had ceased," says Bede after Gildas, "there was an abundance of provisions in the island such as had never been known ; but with them flowed in scandalous luxury ; and every vice soon followed in the train, especially cruelty and hatred of truth with love of falsehood ; insomuch, that if any one appeared somewhat more humane or sincere than the rest, the odium and sarcasms of all were directed against him, as if he were the subverter of Britain. And this was the condition not of the laity alone, but even of the flock of the Lord and of his Pastors. They cast away the light yoke of the Lord and gave themselves up to drunkenness, animosities, litigiousness, contention, envy and the like. However, while they were in this state a pestilence broke out, which carried off such numbers, that the living were not able to bury their dead. Still, neither the death of their kinsmen, nor the fear of their own, could recall those who survived from the death of sin. Therefore soon after, a more severe punishment fell

¹ Bede, ch. xiv. He does not connect the cessation of hostilities with the coming of German, but dates seem to imply as much, and it is hard to conceive the invaders settling down except after defeat. Compare also the extract from Giraldus Cambrensis below.

² Alford.

upon the wretched nation. To repel and keep off the continued irruption of the northern nations, a public council was held, and it was debated where assistance should be sought. All decreed together with their king Vortigern that the Saxons should be called over from the opposite shores to assist them. A measure which the Lord undoubtedly brought about to punish the sins of the Britons, as the event showed."

This invitation addressed to the Saxons is assigned to the year 449 by Bede. Not long before, in 447, while the nation was in the state just described, German came over with Severus of Treves. He had lost no time in setting off from Auxerre. His way again lay in the direction of Nanterre and Paris, as on his first journey. Here he was received by the congratulations of all. His blessing was demanded on every side. And while he was complying with the wishes of the inhabitants, he enquired earnestly after the virgin Genevieve. Genevieve was by this time grown up, for eighteen years had elapsed since German had passed through before. He was not altogether ignorant of what she had undergone since his departure.¹ The fact was that she had from the first led a life of exemplary holiness and mortification. At the age of fifteen, when confirmed in her vocation, she received the virgin's veil from the hands of Velicus, Bishop of Chartres.² At the death of her parents she removed from Nanterre to Paris, where she lived with her god-mother. Notwithstanding the sanctity of her life, she

¹ Biogr. Un.

² It is evident from this incidental passage that some time had elapsed between German's two voyages, contrary to the anachronism of some who assign them to years near each other.

could not escape calumny and persecution ; and her pious practices were looked upon as hypocritical arts. However German, regardless of the imputations which were cast upon her by her enemies, betook himself to the abode of the virgin Genevieve, and to the great surprise of all saluted her on entering in the most respectful manner, “as if he looked upon her as the temple in which the Divine presence was manifested.”¹ The visit of so great a personage as German was alone a high commendation of her character ; but not content with this, he addressed a discourse to the assembled multitude, in which he declared the early events of her religious life,² and her high price in the sight of God ; and as a proof of her sincerity, showed to the people the ground on which she used to lie, moistened by her continual tears. For the present the outcries of her enemies were totally suppressed ; and German was able to proceed on his road. As it is not to the purpose of this narrative to describe the whole history of this great Saint, the reader is referred to those who have collected what is known of her.³ It is sufficient here to say that her deeds were committed to writing eighteen years after her death, in 530. Her feast is on the 3rd of January.

German and Severus met with no obstacle this time in their passage across the channel. Swift as their progress was, yet the evil spirits managed to spread the fame of their arrival throughout the island, before, says

¹ Constantius.

² This also shows that time sufficient had elapsed for his first journey to have been forgotten in its details.

³ Vid. Boll. ad iii. Jan. Vita cum commentariis, p. 137.—In modern languages, see her Life in Butler and Baillet, *Vie des Saints*, and Biogr. Uni.

Constantius, they were in sight. Among the first who came to meet German was Elaphius, one of the chief men of the country. He brought with him his son, who from childhood had been a cripple. The whole province, of which he apparently was sovereign, followed Elaphius. When the two Bishops had landed, the multitude thronged to get their blessing. German then learnt that the people had not yet departed from the faith in which he had previously established them ; and that the Pelagian leaven had infected a few only.

In the meantime, Elaphius threw himself down before German and Severus, and entreated them to have compassion upon his afflicted son. All united in expressing their commiseration for him. Then German having desired the young man to sit down, laid hold of his crooked legs, and passed his hand gently over the distorted parts. His touch produced an instantaneous cure ; the circulation returned to the withered joints, and the nerves resumed their strength. In the presence of all, the young man was restored to his father in perfect soundness. The people filled with amazement at the miracle, were confirmed in the Faith by which so great a deed had been performed. In some sense they resembled the Samaritans, who said unto the woman that conversed with our Lord at Jacob's well, " Now do we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the world."¹

The two Bishops then proceeded to take measures for the total extirpation of the Pelagian heresy. They preached everywhere with such efficacy, that the nation unanimously agreed to have the propagators of the

¹ St. John iv. 42.

error arrested and brought to the Bishops, to be carried away from the island into foreign parts. Some have thought they were sent to Rome, others that they were taken only to Gaul.¹ Constantius seems to affirm, that while care was taken to deliver Britain from their presence, hopes were entertained that they might elsewhere be brought round to orthodoxy.² The event fully showed the expediency of a measure, which might be looked upon now as an act of persecution ; for henceforth the Catholic faith remained entire in Britain up to the time when Constantius wrote, that is, about forty years after the journey of German.

With this last assertion Constantius concludes his narrative of German's second visit to Britain ; and as it is an important one, before the accounts of other authors are produced, it may be as well to notice some few observations to which it leads. A decided proof seems here to be given that the invasion of the Saxons and Angles did not extinguish the Christian religion in Britain to the degree which is generally supposed, and has been maintained by some writers. Constantius speaks of what existed in his own time, after the Saxons had been for nearly forty years settled in Britain. It would appear then, that whatever error there may be in that theory which rests the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England upon its original state under the Britons, in contradistinction to the arrangements introduced by St. Austin, yet there is a great appearance of truth in the reason which

¹ Hist. Ep. Antiss. c. vii. apud Boll. Tillemont tom. xv. p. 19.

² “ Ut regio absolute et *illi* emendatione fruerentur.” Perhaps, however, the *illi* refers to the natives, as Constantius is not afraid of tautology.

is adduced to support it, viz. that the Christian religion was not utterly destroyed in Britain by the arrival of the Saxons. The analogy of other countries alone would lead to the belief that the Saxons, like other barbarians, would rather adopt the faith of the vanquished than impose their own ; and the language of Constantius is too strong to suppose the faith shut up in one corner of the island, Wales, according to the common notion. He says expressly, “*that in those parts* (from which the country where German landed could hardly be excluded, namely, the shores of Kent,) *the Faith continues untainted* (which could not be the case if a Pagan religion was there substituted for the Christian) *up to our times.*”¹ Now if we consider that St. Austin came into England, according to Bede, in 596, and that Constantius wrote his Life of St. German about 483, it seems hardly possible that the Faith which remained entire in 483, should have been totally extinguished in 596, i. e. 113 years after ; especially as the violence of the Saxons is represented to have been displayed chiefly towards the beginning of their invasion, at least thirty years before Constantius wrote.² And this view is supported by the learned Whitaker. “The native roughness of their manners,” he says on the subject of the Saxons, “would insensibly be smoothed, and the natural attachment of their minds to idolatry

¹ Quod in tantum salubriter factum est, ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret.

² It is hoped that no difference of opinion to that expressed in St. Augustine’s Life, is here put forth. In fact the materials of this work were prepared long before that Life came out, and hitherto nothing more than the headings of the chapters and an occasional paragraph have been seen by the writer of St. German’s Life. Collier, p. 124, tom. i. Ed. Svo.

imperceptibly softened, by their perpetual intercourse with the Britons, to whom they allowed the free exercise of their religion. And the British Churches in general appear to have remained undestroyed by the Saxons, and some of them even applied to their original uses. In the stipendiary town of Canterbury, no less than two continued to the Saxon conversion, and one of these seems to have been regularly used through all the period of idolatry as the temple of the provincials at Canterbury, &c. Indulged with this reasonable liberty, and opposed by no passionate prejudice, the Britons would successfully propagate the doctrines of Christianity, &c. A deep impression would silently have been made on the Saxons, gradually detach them from their idolatry, and greatly prepare them for Christianity. And we find them accordingly, some time before the arrival of Augustine, *and when no attempts had been made to convert them by the Britons of Wales*, actually prepared for conversion, and very desirous of the Gospel, &c.”¹

This subject, which more properly belongs to the life of St. Augustine, it seemed necessary cursorily here to introduce, in order to estimate properly the advantages which St. German procured to our Church, and which in all probability were not destroyed when St. Austin came to revive religion in England.²

¹ Hist. Manch. p. 360, 361, 362. He refers to Greg. Ep. 58, in Bede 678, “Desideranter velle converti,” and Lib. i. c. 22. See also Ep. 59.

² The same view is substantially taken by Alford, ad an. 440, who observes, that St. Austin was sent as the converter of the Saxons and Angles only, and not in any wise to the Britons. St. German was the Apostle of the Britons, St. Austin of the Saxons, but neither were the original founders of Christianity in this island. Of course Cressy follows Alford.

A general idea of the customs and teaching of German and his companions, is supposed by our own Selden to be shown in the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ who lived in the twelfth century, and whose words are as follows :² “Formerly and long before the ruin of Britain, during nearly two hundred years, the natives had been established and confirmed in the faith through the instrumentality of Faganus and Damianus, who were sent into the island by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of King Lucius. From which time, including that when German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes (on account of the corruptions which had crept in from the invasions of the Pagans and Saxons, and especially in order to expel the Pelagian heresy,) were sent into the island, the natives had nothing heretical, nothing contrary to sound doctrine, in their belief. From these same Saints and Bishops they also received and kept up to our time the following practices, as we are told.³ Whenever any bread is served up, they (that is, the Welsh) first give a corner of it to the poor. They sit in companies of three at dinner in honour of the Trinity. Whenever a Monk or a Priest, or any one bearing a religious habit appears, they cast down their arms, bend their head, and demand a blessing. No other nation seeks so earnestly for Episcopal confirmation and the unction of the

¹ Vid. p. 59. *Analecton Anglo-Britanicon* Joan. Selden. Frankfort, 1615.—Giraldus Cambrensis, apud Camden. *Anglo-Scripta*. p. 891. Ed. 1603. Frankfort.—Alford ad an. 440.

² Vid. *Biog. Uni.* His original name was Barry, and his surname shows he was Welsh. He was of high birth, and travelled a great deal. But his works are spoilt, it is said, by great vanity and affectation, and not always to be depended upon.

³ Ut fertur.

Chrism, both which impart the Grace of the Spirit. They give tithes of all their possessions, cattle and sheep, when they marry, when they undertake a journey, or submit to the discipline of the Church in the reformation of their lives. This partition of their property they call the Great Tithes. Two parts they give to the Church where they are baptized, the third to the Bishop of their diocese. In preference to all other journeys, they undertake that to Rome, with pious minds and reverence for the threshold of the Apostles. They show due veneration for Churches and Ecclesiastical persons, and the relics of Saints, and portable bells,¹ the ornamented Volume of the Gospels,² and the Cross ; in this indeed they surpass all other nations. Hence their Church enjoys more secure peace than any other. For not only in cemeteries, but even elsewhere by means of land-marks and ditches, placed by the Bishops to preserve order, their cattle are able to feed without disturbance. In the most ancient and venerable Churches, when the cattle go out in the morning, and when they return at evening, the Clergy give them their benediction. If any one has incurred the

¹ *Campanis Bajulis.* “*Campanæ Bajulæ quæ præ manibus haberi et deferri possunt.*” *Silvester Giraldus in Topogr. Hibern. c. 33.*—“*Hoc etiam non prætereundum puto, quod Campanas bajulas, baculosque Sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos, in magna reverentia tam Hiberniæ et Scotiæ quàm Gwalliæ populus et Clerus habere solent: ita ut sacramenta super hæc longe magis quam super Evangelia et præstare vereantur et pejerare.*”—*Apud Ducange. Campana.*

² *Libris textis.* “*Textus; Liber seu Codex Evangeliorum, qui inter cimelia Ecclesiastica reponi solet, auro gemmisque ut plurimum exornatus, aureis etiam interdum characteribus exaratus.*”—*Ducange.*

deadly enmity of his sovereign, and seeks for refuge in the Church, he will there find peace for himself and his kinsfolk. In this privilege indeed, which far exceeds the indulgence of the canons, which only offer safety to the body and members, many go great lengths and make their refuge the occasion of plunder. Nowhere else you will see Hermits and Anchorites more ascetic, more spiritual. Though all the people (the Welsh) have a natural vehemence of disposition, and you will find none worse than bad men among them, yet you will not find better men than their good men."

CHAPTER XXI.

More English Traditions.

THUS much can be depended upon, with regard to this second visit of German to Britain, as coming from the authority of Constantius, who has all along been taken as a sure witness. But it has been hinted already that our Saint's renown in England by no means depends upon the narrative of this writer alone, (one might almost say, *at all*.) Nothing was more popular among our ancient countrymen than the Legends of St. German. Did an Englishman in the ninth century go abroad, he was sure to be questioned about St. German, and he had many things to relate, which Constantius had passed over, but which were in the mouth of every body in England. "This country," says Hericus of

Auxerre, "which is the first among islands, has a peculiar devotion towards the blessed German, and its inhabitants acknowledge themselves to owe many great blessings to him : they were enlightened, say they, by his teaching, they were purified from heresy twice by him, they were honoured by many miracles which he performed among them." Accordingly, when a pious monk of the name of Mark came over from England, and took up his abode in the monastery of St. Medard and St. Sebastian, at Soissons, in France, he had many things to tell the foreign enquirer which were not generally known abroad. And these, he asserted positively, were contained in the Catholic Histories of Britain, and might be read by any one therein."¹

About the very time when St. Mark (for he was a Saint) was instructing Hericus, Nennius was writing his history of Britain in England, that is, in 858, according to the Prologue. Nennius then is, after Bede, the earliest English testimony which we possess concerning St. German. But as critics are, with reason, afraid of admitting the facts he relates without great caution, the reader will be pleased to consider this chapter as the continuation of a former one, entitled English Traditions.

It appears that the arrival of the Saxons, Vortigern's crimes and misfortunes, St. German's presence, and Merlin's prophecies, are facts all brought together by this author. Among the earlier events of Vortigern's reign occurred, he says, the arrival of Horsa and Hengist ; the account reads like romance. "In the meantime, three skiffs,² banished from Germany, touched the land. In these were Horsa and Hen-

¹ Heric. de Mirac. 80.

² Ciulæ.

gist, who were brothers, the sons of Guictgils, the son of Guitta, the son of Gueetha—Vuoden—Frealaf—Fredulf—Finn—Folewald—Geta, who was, as they say, the son of God. This is not the God of gods, Amen, the God of Hosts, but one of their idols whom they worshipped...Vortigern received them kindly, and gave them the island which in the Saxon language is called Thanet, but in the British tongue Ruohim.”

Then came St. German to Britain, where he preached, and performed many miracles, among which Nennius selects the following legend, the character of which must stand by its own merits, and not be supposed to affect in any way the more genuine miracles of German before related. “There was a certain wicked king, a perfect tyrant, of the name of Benli. Him the Saint proposed to visit, and therefore hastened to go and preach to him. When the man of God had come to the gate of the town with his companions, the guard approached and saluted them, whereupon they sent him to the king. The king returned a harsh answer, saying, with an oath, “Should they remain there till the end of the year, they never shall enter my town.” While they were waiting for the guard to bring back the answer of the king, evening came on, and night advanced, and they knew not where they should go, when one of the king’s servants arrived, and having bowed himself before the man of God, related to him the words of the king. He then invited them to his cottage, (which probably was out of the town); they went with him, and he entertained them kindly. Their host had only one cow, with her calf. This latter he killed, and having roasted it, placed it before them. Then St. German enjoined them not to break any of the bones, and the next day the calf was found with its mother,

whole and alive. When German had risen in the morning, he asked for an interview with the king. While he was waiting at the gate, a man came running up to him with the sweat running down from his face. He bowed himself. St. German said to him, 'Dost thou believe in the Holy Trinity?' He answered, 'I believe,' and was baptized; and German kissed him, and said to him, 'Go in peace, in this same hour thou shalt die; the angels of God await thee in the air, that thou mayest go with them to the Lord, in whom thou hast believed.' Then the man returned with joy to the citadel, where the Prefect arrested him, and bound him; after which, he was led before the tyrant and put to death; for it was a custom with the cruel tyrant to have every one killed who, before sunrise, did not return to his service in the citadel. In the meantime, German and his companions remained the whole day before the gate of the city, without obtaining leave to see the king. The servant who before had entertained them, did not neglect them. St. German said to him, 'Take care that none of your friends remain in the citadel this night.' The servant then returned to the citadel, and brought away his children to the number of nine, and his guests followed him to the same abode as before. St. German bid them remain fasting, and having shut the doors, said, 'Watch, and if any thing should occur, be careful not to look to the citadel, but pray unceasingly, and cry to the Lord.' After a short interval, in the night, fire fell from heaven, and consumed the citadel, with all that were with the tyrant, and they have never been found, continues Nennius, to this time, nor has the fort ever been rebuilt. The day after, the man who had so hospitably received them, believed and was baptized, with all his children;

and the whole country followed his example. His name was Catel. And German blessed him and said, 'There shall not be wanting a king of thy seed ; and thou thyself from this day shalt be sole king.' The saying proved true. The servant was made the king, and all his children became kings, and by their posterity the whole country of the Pouisi is even now governed."

However Vortigern was becoming daily more intimate with his Saxon guests. "Then," says Nennius, "Satan entered into his heart, and he fell in love with the daughter of Hengist, and he promised half of his kingdom to have her in marriage." Thus was the county of Kent given away. Soon after, a fresh body of strangers arrived from the German coasts, at Vortigern's invitation. These were Oetha and Ebissa, with forty skiffs, who, at the request of the king, sailed towards the Picts, and laid waste the Orkney Islands, and settled in the country which lies on the confines of the Picts. Vortigern was hastening the ruin of his country by his follies and his vices. As a crowning of his wickedness, he married his own daughter, and had a son by her. Upon hearing which, St. German came, with all the British Clergy, to reprove him. A large Synod was convened, at which the Clergy and laity attended. The king then ordered his daughter to present herself to the assembly, and deliver the child to German, declaring that German himself was the father of it. She acted as she was instructed. German, however, received the child with benevolence, and said, 'Yes, I will be a father to thee, nor will I part with thee, unless a razor with tongs and comb be given me, and thou transfer them to thy father according to the flesh.' The child obeyed, and advanced towards Vortigern, his father and grandfather at the same time, and

he said to him, 'Thou art my father ; shave my head—the hair of my head.' Vortigern remained silent, and would not answer the child, but rose up in a great rage, and fled from the presence of St. German. He was then condemned, and anathematized by St. German and all the Council of the Britons. This Council, we learn, was held at Guarthernia (probably in Wales.) When Vortemir, the son of Vortigern, saw that his father had been condemned for incest by German, and by the British Clergy, and had taken flight, he came and threw himself at the feet of the Saint, and asked his pardon. Then, on account of the calumny which his father and sister had spread against German, he decreed that ever after the land on which the Bishop had suffered the ignominy should be his property. Hence, in memory of St. German, it received the name of Guartheunia, (or Guarthernia) which, by interpretation, is "The calumny justly repulsed."¹

It would be too long to follow Vortigern into his retirement at Snowden, where he built a castle, to consolidate which, he was advised by wizards (the constant companions of abandoned sovereigns) to sprinkle the blood of a child which had no father. Suffice it to say, the famous prophet, the very Merlin was found, who was also called Ambrosius, and was the son of a Roman Consul. In the meantime, Vortemir undertook the cause of the Britons, which his father had betrayed to the Saxons, and was victorious in four battles, in the last of which he died. After his death, Vortigern was taken captive treacherously by the Saxons, and obliged to deliver up to them Essex and Sussex for his ransom. "However,"

¹ See Nennius, p. 30, p. 35, and Usher, p. 385.

continues Nennius, " St. German did not desist from preaching to Vortigern to turn to the Lord. But the king fled to the region which owes its name to him, Guorthigirniaun, where he concealed himself with his wives. But St. German followed with all the British clergy ; and there he remained forty days and forty nights, praying upon the rock, and standing night and day. Then Vortigern again ignominiously retired to the fort of Guorthigirn, which is in the country of the Demeti, (including Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokehire) near the river Teibi (now called Teify.) Still St. German followed him, and when he arrived he remained three days and as many nights fasting with the whole clergy that accompanied him. On the fourth night, about midnight, the entire fortress, struck by fire from heaven, fell to the ground ; and Vortigern with all who were with him, and his wives, disappeared." Such was the end of this ill-fated monarch, the account of which Nennius professes to have found in the Book of St. German, though there were, he adds, other reports. The names of Vortigern's legitimate sons have already been given, Vortimer, Categirn, Parcent. It is somewhat remarkable that the offspring of his incestuous marriage became a Saint, under the name of Saint Faustus. After the miraculous obedience which he had displayed in the way above related, he was baptized and educated by St. German ; and having built a monastery on the banks of the river Renis, he there devoted himself to the service of God.

Such are the deeds and transactions which in early times were connected with the name of German in this Island. In fact, they constituted the popular legend of that Saint, and went much farther towards

rendering him familiar to the English, than the more authentic narratives of Constantius and Bede. Nor is Nennius the only one who loved to explore the rich mine of the Legend of St. German ; Henry of Huntingdon, John Gerbrand of Leyden, Galfridus, Matthæus Florilegus, and many others, transmitted in their turn the well known story which was identified with many a national and local sympathy. Here was to be found the origin of the names of towns, and churches ; the clue to famous councils and victories. At the same time the great political revolution which German, if he did not witness, yet saw impending upon the nation, and the never forgotten British associations with which his name was allied, and which were stored up in the mountains of Wales, gave a popularity to his name, which it is somewhat surprising should so completely have died away.

CHAPTER XXII.

St. German and the Barbarians.

SCARCELY had German returned from his last expedition to Britain in the year 447, when he found a new field open for his exertions. The occasion was a deputation sent by the Armorican confederacy to entreat his assistance against their two united enemies, the Roman generals and their allies the Barbarian Alani. That a holy Bishop should be applied to, may surprize us at first, but will cease to do so when the nature of the case is explained. However, in order to understand how Barbarians came to be the allies of Romans against a Christian and orthodox

people, it will be necessary to go back a few years, to their first introduction into Gaul. First, let it be observed, the Alani, against whom the Armoricans chiefly demanded succour, were a race of Huns, stationed on the banks of the Loire, near Orleans, to repress the rebels, and who acted under the conduct of their king, Eochar.

The position of the different Barbarians in Gaul at this time was as follows. The Franks, the "heathen and perfidious Franks,"¹ occupied a part of the northern provinces of the two Belgicæ and the second Germanica, a district which now might be said to extend from the banks of the river Somme, in Picardy, towards those of the Moselle. The Visigoths possessed the greater part of the western and south-western provinces, south of the river Loire, called at that time *Narbonnensis Prima*, *Novempopulania* and the *Second Aquitania*. The Burgundians were settled in the east of Gaul, in the provinces of *Germanica Prima* and *Maxima Sequanorum*, answering to the modern *Alsace*, *Franche-comté* and *Switzerland*. These were the three great divisions of Barbarians. With regard to the two latter, it is to be remarked that they were Christians, though Arians. "In every nation," says Salvian, "there were two kinds of Barbarians, the Pagans and the Heretics."² Of the former class were another large tribe of men, who besides these, had entered into Gaul, though they had as yet no settled abode, and with whom the History of St. German is more immediately connected. These were the Alani mentioned already, a section of the Huns; both which races, parent and offspring, deserved the epithets of "rapacious,

¹ Salvian, p. 89. Dubos, tom. i. p. 438. Thierry *Lettres sur la France*.

² p. 86.

drunken, impure.”¹ The great leader of the Huns, Attila, entered Gaul a few years later ; the detachment of them here in question, was introduced somewhat earlier and in a very different way.

Among the political intrigues which disturbed the imperial court at Ravenna, many will remember the famous quarrel of Aetius, the great Roman general, and Count Boniface, his worthy rival, who commanded in Africa. How this quarrel was connected with the entry of the Alani into Gaul is now to be shown. The crisis of their feud took place in a meeting of the two rivals in the plains of Italy on the field of battle. Boniface was victorious, but he died of his wounds.² Aetius, deprived by the Empress Placidia and her son Valentinian of his dignity and titles, retired into the land of the Huns, who were then governed by Rugila, the father of Attila. Here he received the most cordial welcome. An alliance ensued between the savage chieftain and the Roman exile which subsisted for a long time.³ In the year 435, after two years’ banishment, the indispensable Aetius was again restored to the favour of the court. The highest honour of the age was bestowed upon him ; he was made Patrician. At this juncture he sent to his associates, the Huns, to obtain troops to defend Gaul against its many assailants. A large body of these who went by the name of Alani, were accordingly enlisted in the Roman armies ; and shortly after Aetius stationed a great number on the banks of the Loire. Their very entry into Gaul was prophetic of their future behaviour. They made a violent attack upon

¹ Salvian, p. 89.

² Prosp. Chron. 432. Dubos, p. 353, tom. i. Gibbon, tom. iv.

³ Dubos, p. 362.

the Burgundians, the mildest and most equitable of the Barbarian settlers, and killed twenty thousand of them, according to Gibbon. Certain it is that a great part of the Burgundians are represented to have perished in the massacre, to which Actius, the Patrician, was not altogether a stranger. This act was the more savage, as a treaty had lately been made with the Burgundians.¹

The next enemy against whom the Alani were employed were the Visigoths. Here the reason was more just. The Visigoths were daily taking advantage of the disturbed state of the empire. "They were ever violating treaties," says St. Prosper, "and continued to obtain possession of the greater number of the large towns which were situated near their kingdom. Narbonne they were now aiming at eagerly."² But Narbonne was rescued by the reinforced troops of Actius; and the Visigoths were repeatedly conquered.³ The new allies of the Romans by this time rendered the imperial army a match for the Goths. The Gothic nations were skilful in the management of the sword and the spear, but they were deficient in horse. The Scythian tribes on the contrary, and among them the Alani, possessed a superior cavalry, and they were equally expert in governing their warlike steeds, and using the bow and arrow and other missiles. After these victories, Actius stationed a great part of his allies at or near Orleans, under the conduct of their king Sambida, for reasons which will soon be explained, and in consequence of which the Armorican confederacy were afterwards obliged to apply to St. German. Then Actius departed to Rome.

¹ Prosper, Chron. ad an. 435. Montesquieu *Esprit des Lois*, tom. ii.

² Prosp. ad an. 436.

³ Prosp. ad an. 438.

In his absence, Littorius Celsus, the commanding officer of the Romans, urged by the opportunity of distinguishing himself, notwithstanding a treaty which had been made with the Visigoths, made war upon them. Let us hear Prosper.¹ “Littorius, who acted as lieutenant of the Patrician Aetius in the command of the auxiliary troops of the Huns or Alani, desirous of eclipsing the reputation of his superior, and trusting in the oracles of Augurs and the promises of Devils, imprudently engaged with the Visigoths. The event showed that any thing might have been expected from his army ; but a general was wanting. His troops were beaten, but not till they had broken the ranks of the enemy, and Littorius was taken prisoner ; and so the defeat was decisive.” This action took place near Toulouse. Theodoric was king of the Visigoths. Littorius was put to death.² After this fatal engagement, peace was again made with the Visigoths, through the instrumentality of Avitus, the future emperor, the father-in-law of the poet and scholar Sidonius Apollinarius, and a native of Auvergne.³

It was a difficult thing to find safe occupation for the restless Alani. Do something they must. At a loss for an occasion, they might turn and attack their own employers ; but there was as yet no need for that. It has already been stated in a previous chapter, and supposed in this, that in the north-western parts of Gaul, a large League or Confederacy existed, under the name of the Armorican Republic, to the standards of which all the rebels of the Empire, who did not join the Barbarians, flocked. The Armoricans were a

¹ Prosp. ad an. 439. ² Dubos, tom. i. p. 374, &c.

³ Sidon. in Paneg. Aviti. vers. 297.

Christian and orthodox people, who inhabited the second and third Lugdunensis : that is, the whole of the country north of the Loire, as far as Orleans and the Seine.¹ With the rest of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, they came into the dominion of the Romans in Julius Cæsar's time. They have always been noted for that independence and energy of character which afterwards were so often displayed in the annals of France, and not long since evinced in the neighbouring plains of La Vendée. Armorica did not obtain the name of Brittany till after the conquest of Great Britain by the Saxons, when great numbers of Britons, as is well known, took refuge there. The Armorican confederacy however embraced what is now called Normandy, a name likewise of later use.² In the early part of the fifth century the Armoricans were particularly known for their spirit of insubordination. Constantius speaks "of the insolence of that proud people," and "their presumption which required a severe lesson;" and again animadverts "on the changeableness and fickleness which prompted a restless and undisciplined people to frequent rebellions."³ And in the ninth century, Hericus of Auxerre, whose masters Charlemagne, Louis-le-Débonnaire, and Charles-le-Chauve, had to deal with this people, describes them as "stern, haughty, boastful, forward, imprudent, rebellious, fickle, ever changing from love of novelty, profuse in words, less ready to make them good; esteeming it an honour

¹ "Gens inter geminos notissima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta."

Hericus, vit. Met. lib. v. ch. 1. See also Tillem. xv. p. 20, Dubos, p. 439 and p. 69.

² Dubos, p. 439.

³ Lib. ii. § 62. Lib. ii. § 73.

to promise much and perform little." Allowing for considerable colouring on the part of advocates for the opposite cause, yet it is not surprising if they were such as they are described. In fact, the Armoricaus were nothing less than rebels ; their republic was not of such long standing that Constantius could regard them otherwise than as disobedient Roman subjects. They were, if not the whole, yet the greater part of that vast coalition of insurgents who went by the name of Bagaudæ. It may seem singular to attempt to differ with a contemporary writer of such great claims to respect as Constantius, but he himself, who bears witness to the fact, undoubtedly would have acknowledged the justness of the reasons which palliate the offence of these Insurgents. The very name of Bagaudæ, like that of Chartists in England, was expressive of contempt and abhorrence ; and names have a prestige about them, which it requires definition and analysis to dissipate. But let us listen to Salvian, another contemporary author.¹ "It is the injustice of the Romans which has constrained men, all over the Empire, no longer to remain Romans. I am speaking of the Bagaudæ. Spoiled, harassed, murdered by wicked and cruel judges, they have lost all the rights of Roman liberty—they relinquish the honour of the Roman name. We impute to them their misfortunes ; we cast in their teeth the name which distinguishes their misery—a name of which we are the sole cause. We call them rebels, we call them abandoned men ; but their guilt is ours. What else has made them Bagaudæ but our iniquities, the crying injustice of our magistrates, the proscriptions, the pillage exercised by

¹ De Guber. p. 108. ed. Baluz.

those who turn the public exactions into private extortion and spoil, who make the assessment of taxes the occasion for plunder ; who, like ferocious wild beasts, instead of ruling their dependants, devour them. Nor are they content with plunder alone, but they feast, so to say, upon the blood of their victims. Hence it has happened, that men mangled and half killed by iniquitous judges, have begun to assume a position like that of the Barbarians—in fact, they were not suffered to be Romans.....What do we see every day ? Those who are not Bagaudæ yet, are compelled to become so.”

The first great insurrection took place about 434.¹ Prosper says ; “ The northern provinces of Gaul having been seduced by Tibato, seceded from the Roman alliance, which was the first cause of that general confederacy of the Bagaudæ to which all the servile classes in Gaul acceded.” Nothing more is known of Tibato ; the spirit of rebellion which he inflamed, spread rapidly, and concentrated itself in the country of the Armoricans. To these all the slaves and oppressed tenants, and degraded burghers, and ruined *curiales*, looked for protection, during the vast system of oppression that was choking the last feeble breathings of the Roman existence. And no more urgent motive had Aetius the Patrician, in sending for troops from the Huns and Alani, than to subdue the ever-increasing numbers of the insurgents. Accordingly, as we have seen, he stationed a large body of Alani near Orleans, as being the frontier town. In all the wars with the Visigoths, a sketch of which has been given, the Armoricans were sure to take a part, always siding with the enemies of the Romans ; and in all the treaties

¹ Dubos, tom. i. p. 355.

which were made, the Armorican interests claimed due consideration. It was somewhat strange to see the orthodox Armoricans combining with the heretical Visigoths, at a time and in a country where Arianism was such a distinct mark of separation. But it was still more strange that the Christian Romans should call in the Pagan Huns to conquer Christians and Catholics. As yet, however, Aetius and his generals had not been able to make a regular attack upon the Armoricans ; his efforts had been chiefly directed towards the principality of Toulouse. But by means of Sambida and his men, posted on the banks of the Loire, he kept a vigilant eye over their movements.

In 446, a year before St. German returned from Britain, an attempt was made against them, which has been recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, in his life of St. Mesmius, a disciple of St. Martin. It appears that Aetius was himself compelled to depart, to make head against Clodion, the king of the Franks, who was advancing by slow but steady steps, in the north-east of Gaul. Egidius Afranius, the same as Count Giles, took the command of the army on the Loire, the Barbarian chief acting probably under his guidance. St. Gregory, a native of those parts which previously belonged to the Armorican Confederacy, and accordingly a favourer of the cause of his country, relates the following circumstance :¹ “ St. Mesmius came to Clinon, a fortified place near to Tours, and there he founded a monastery. Afterwards, Egidius besieged the town, into which all the inhabitants of the district had fled for refuge, and caused the well, which was situated on the ridge of the hill where the besieged came to draw

¹ De Gloria Conf. c. 22.—See Dubos, p. 433.

water, to be filled up. The servant of God, who was shut up within the place, seeing with grief the companions of his fortunes dying for want of water, passed a whole night in prayer. He implored God not to suffer the people to perish from thirst, and to thwart the designs of the enemy. St. Mesmius then had a revelation. At the dawn of day, he assembled the besieged, and said unto them, "Let all who have vessels for water, place them in the open air, and ask with confidence the help of the Lord. He will give you abundance of water ; more than is necessary for yourselves and children." He scarcely had ended, when the sky became covered with dark clouds, and the rain fell amid vivid streaks of lightning and the roll of thunder. The besieged were doubly benefited. The storm which gave them water, obliged the assailants to relinquish their works. The buckets of all were filled. Thus, adds St. Gregory, did the prayers of St. Mesmius avail to raise the siege of Chinon. The rustics afterwards retired without injury to their former dwellings."

Armorica then was a land of Saints. And Saints stood up in the defence of the Republic. There is a stage in oppression and injustice where insurrection is a kind of necessary consequence, and the laws of passive obedience seem suspended by the overpowering guilt of the governing party, or rather when to violate the duty of forbearance and patience has its excuse in the human infirmity, which cannot but exist in large bodies of men. No precedent or example may be quoted to sanction any violation of duty, but in looking back upon past times, a national sin, which is incurred under peculiarly trying circumstances and imminent danger, deserves, perhaps, some charitable apology. The Church that denounces the living sinner, hopes

for the dead. To both Constantius and Salvian the insurgents were Bagaudæ ; but with the latter, the excuse for them is explicit, with the former it is implied, in that St. German interceded for them, as will be seen.

The Alani or Huns were but too ready to second Egidius in his attack upon the Armoricans. In 447-448, when St. German returned from Britain, Eochar had succeeded Sambida,¹ as king of the Barbarians. The same fierce and rapacious disposition was displayed by this chieftain as by his predecessor. Valesius thinks he is the same with Vitricus or Jutricus, whom St. Prosper mentions as a Roman ally, in 439, and marks out for his exploits at battle.² However, it would not require much to induce the greedy Alani to rush upon a prey so inviting as must have been the land of the Armoricans, if we may trust to descriptions. Situated along the Loire, on the confines of the enemy, the least occasion would be seized for a plundering expedition. A historian of the time of François Premier, apparently a native of Brittany, when relating the early annals of the Armoricans, takes the opportunity to give the following picture of their country.³ As its primitive simplicity and antiquated French can hardly be translated, the original will best serve to give an idea of the local advantages of this province.

¹ Or Sangibanus.

² Vid. Not. Bolland. ad locum Const. Recueil des Historiens, tom. i. p. 632, ad notas. Dubos, tom. i. p. 384.

³ Grandes Chronique de Bretagne, published at Caen, 1518, and thus headed ; "The author of this book came into England in embassy with Mr. François de Luxembourg, S. Charles Marigny, m. 4 reign 9 K. U. 8. vid. Fol. 220. Bodlei. Biblio.

“Le royaume de Bretagne qui jadis fut appellé Armorique est situé es extrémitéz d’occident vers la fin de Europe, et est de la forme d’ung fer à cheval dont la rotondité est circuye a soleil resconsant de la mere oceane ; et de gros et dangereux rochiers qui sout chascun tout convers et descouvers de la mer. Lesquels rochiers nuisent aux navires d’aborder à la terre. Par le haust vers orient joingt à ce royaume le bas pays de Normendie, Le Mans, Anjou, Poictou. En ce royaulme ya plaines et montaignes, prèz, forestz, rivieers, et landes. Les plaines croissent bons fromens, sègles, avoynes, riz, saffran, poix, fèves, aulx, oignons et autres fruitz. Les landes et montaignes on engresse force bestail. En aucuns lieux devers occident on faict le sel par singulière industrie. Car a ce faire ny a que l’eau de la mer et la vertu du soleil, et de ce sel toutes les contrées voysines et austres sont fournies et pourvuenes. A l’environ de ceste Bretagne, sont en mer plusieurs isles habitées qui sont de la dicte Bretagne où il ya estangs et forestz et y croissent blez, vis (?) et autres commodités. Les forestz de ceste Bretagne sont peuplées de venoysons et gybiers à foyson. Et ya en aucuns lieux mynières de argent, plomb, et fer. En plusieurs lieux y croissent vins en abundance pour fournir les habitans siz sen vouloyent contenter. Par mer arrivent es portz et havres du pays toutes marchandises, &c.”—Lib. ii. p. 34.

Such was the country upon which the impatient Alani were now to be let loose. Actius, the Magnificent, (this was the high-sounding title of the Patrician) irritated by the haughty conduct of the Armorians, resolved to humble them by those, whom it was as dangerous to employ as it was to leave inactive. He gave orders to Eochar, king of the Alani, (the

fierceness of whose disposition did not belie his birth,) to enter with his men the provinces north of the Loire.¹ The command was readily obeyed ; and the Armoricans were obliged to give way before the onset of the Barbarians. As an only resource in their distress, they sent a deputation to German, who was now returned to Gaul, to request his intercession with the enemy. It will be remembered that twenty-nine years before this event, German had himself been governor of the provinces which desired his assistance, with the title of Duke of the Armorican and Nervican district, including five provinces, the two Aquitains, the second and third Lugdunensis, and Senonia, in which Auxerre was situated.² We are not strictly told that the application of the Armoricans was founded upon any reasons arising from this circumstance ; yet we can hardly help conjecturing that some such consideration had its weight. The exceeding holiness of his life was however the ostensible reason of the embassy. Old as he was, for he was in his seventieth year, they deemed he alone could check the Pagan and savage Huns. German, confident in the all-powerful strength of Christ, says Constantius, set out without delay. The Alani had already begun their march. No time was to be lost ; their troops and cavalry loaded with iron armour, already filled the high roads. The Bishop of Auxerre advanced to meet them. Passing through their ranks, he penetrated to their king Eochar, who followed in

¹ The Bollandists are evidently right in reading Alanorum, not Alemannorum, with Surius ; both reason and MSS. prove it. The Bodl. MS. of Constantius, and all those quoted by Boschius have the same. So also in Salvian, p. 89, read Alani, not Almanni, and perhaps instead of Albani.

² Notitia Dignit. Imperii.

the rear. Fearless of the numbers that surrounded him, German drew near, accompanied by an interpreter. He then began to address the king in the language of a suppliant. But when he saw his petition was disregarded, he proceeded to reproofs. At last, when all was vain, stretching forth his arm, and laying hold of the reins of his horse, he stopped his progress, and that of the rest of the army. It was expected this rash act would have cost him dear. But the king was struck with astonishment and admiration. God seemed to have moved his iron heart. Reverence and awe, for which the wild and vague Scythian superstition offered no incentive, appeared, for the first time, on the fierce visage of the Barbarian, at the sight of German's courage, his authoritative demeanour, his august countenance.¹ The result was, that the preparations for war, and the vast concourse of arms, were converted into the more peaceful measures of a public conference. The king consented to forego his own desires and those of his men, and to adapt his conduct to the proposals of German. It was agreed that a truce should be observed, till the will of the emperor or his lieutenant, Aetius, were ascertained. The forces were then disbanded, and they retired to their respective stations. Thus, a second time, were the virtues of God's Saints instrumental in averting the otherwise inevitable fury of the Barbarians. Three parallel instances occurred not long after, when the whole nation of the Huns, under Attila, invaded the unfortunate

¹ "Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem, culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant præsulem verecundius colunt."—Ammian Marcell. quoted by Gibbon, iv. 238.

Gaul. St. Lupus saved Troyes, St. Anian saved Orleans, St. Genevieve rescued Paris. Like St. German, however, they did not confront the Barbarian. It is perhaps not unworthy of notice, that the same pens which have consigned to memory the ravages of the Barbarians, are they which have attested the miracles. The history of these times is chiefly dependent upon Christian testimony.

The learned Dubos seems to think this interview between German and Eochar took place near Chartres, one of the principal cities in the province of Senonia, called in the Latin Tables Carnotum.¹ But he is wrong when he assigns the date of it to 443, unless Constantius has totally disregarded chronological order. The Bollandists refer it to 447 or 448 with apparent reason.

We have no certain information concerning the particular conditions of the truce granted by Eochar. As a general fact, we learn that the Armoricans were to send immediately to the court of Ravenna some one entrusted with full powers to conclude an agreement with the Emperor ; that measures should be taken for a final conclusion of peace, and a suspension of arms observed by all parties, till the pardon of the Emperor was obtained.

He who had delivered the Armoricans from destruction, was now the person they fixed upon to carry their cause before the Emperor. The combined reasons which had made them select German in the first case, would also mark him out for the present negotiation. Republics, as well as other States, are governed by men of the world. They are glad if skill can be found con-

¹ Tom. i. p. 388.

ned with piety and good report, but they usually determine their choice by the political talents of their representatives, and their practical knowledge and prudence. German's long experience in the civil affairs of the Empire, his previous profession of pleader and magistrate, his acquaintance with the Armorican character and condition from having been Governor of the Provinces—these were circumstances not to be overlooked in a negotiation rendered so difficult by the intrigues of the Court. It might have been expected that the commissioner of the Armoricans would have applied for pardon to Actius. Actius was in effect the Emperor in Gaul, and he was very near the scene of the transaction. Yet so it was not. There were good reasons for avoiding him. Actius was the special adversary of the Armoricans ; he had introduced the Alani originally with a direct intention against them ; he had himself given the order for the late attack ; nor would the frightful massacre of the Burgundians be soon forgotten. On the other hand, the court of Ravenna was likely to adopt measures opposite to those of Actius. Weak governments are wont to disclaim the acts of their delegates ; and expedients are synonymous with changes and reversals. Then Actius had never been popular in the imperial circle ; feared, while favoured, he was employed, because his genius and the straits of the times pointed him out as the only support of the empire.

But it may be as well to explain the cause of that influence which from the banks of the Meuse to the coasts of the Adriatic, could, without any express declarations, be so powerfully felt. The following portrait of this extraordinary man is given by Gibbon from a contemporary author.

“His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father, Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alarie, and afterwards to the Huns ; and he successively obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Aetius was not above the middle stature ; but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility ; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse ; drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep ; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers, but injuries ; and it was impossible either to corrupt or deceive, or intimidate the firm integrity of his soul.” To which original testimony Gibbon adds in a note, that this flattering portrait would have been more correct, had the author not insisted upon his patient *forgiving* disposition.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Invasion viewed by Contemporaries.

AND now before we follow St. German into the last events of his busy life, let us pause awhile, to consider what Christians at the time thought of the Invasions of the Barbarians, one tribe of whom we have just seen exterminating on their entrance into Gaul, twenty thousand peaceful Burgundian Colonists, and on the eve of laying waste a rich province of that same country. Living as we do in an age of security, we have the greatest difficulty in entering into the true feelings of men who were placed in the midst of those frightful scenes. No event in real life is like what we fancy it to be in our studies ; no plan which we have prepared at home preserves its identity when thrown into the actualities of the world. Must we then take the contradictory of our expectations for historical truth ? Must we imagine that those who at first sight should seem the most wretched of men, were in point of fact just as well off as we are ? In history there is always a danger of theorizing ; learning may be set off to advantage by an ingenious scaffolding, but its usefulness depends on the solidity of the materials.

However, it is certain from experience, that calamities have almost always their tolerable side. Whether it be that nothing comes to pass without the lapse of time, and time baffles in a thousand ways the apparently unavoidable effects of impending causes ; or that causes in themselves are ever inadequate, or are met by

other antagonist causes, so that the event is less terrible than was expected,—true it is that mankind always find an opening which makes life still dear and hopeful to them. We read of a shocking accident by a rail-road ; the preparatory circumstances come first, then the crash, and we think all must be over. But it so happens that none of our relations perish, though those next to them have been destroyed. Here is our comfort, we care but little about the victims ; the world goes on again as usual ; it is the living who influence, who lead the world ; and as long as there is one living, his judgment, his views are to be regarded.

It seems scarcely deniable that something of this kind took place in Europe during the Invasions of the Barbarians. Salvian talks of a kind of sullen stupor that had come over the world.¹ Men knew they were miserable enough, and were ready to ask why believers in God were the sufferers ;² yet the past was soon cast aside and accounted for nothing ; and luxury, vice, extravagance, ambition, public amusements and dissipation, seemed rather to have increased than diminished.³ Strange to say, the religious feelings which so unprecedented a chain of misfortunes was calculated to produce, degraded a man in themselves from his station in society. “ Religion, says the same author, makes a nobleman a boor.”⁴ And the disgraceful phenomenon which was so signally manifested at the time of the French Revolution, had its vivid precedent in the state of Gaul and other countries during the fifth century.

¹ Salvian de Gub. 145. “ Sopor Domini irruerat super eos.” Vid. Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. v. 548.

² See Gub. Dei, 43, 45, p.

³ Ibid 126, et 143. “ Assiduitas calamitatum, augmentum criminum fecit.”

⁴ Ibid. p. 76.

On the one hand, "language unknown in the Church, perfectly heathen and monstrous, was every where heard; profane exclamations against God, insulting blasphemies : God, they said, had no care for the world, He was no governor, no director, but an unmerciful, ungracious, inhuman, stern, inflexible being."¹ On the other hand, gladiatorial shows grew in esteem. The treasures of the world were spent in bringing from distant countries wild beasts ; it was a livelihood to ferret the deep valleys and the winding mountains of the Alps for the amusements of the theatre.² Words failed to describe the various pastimes of men. There were circus, amphitheatres, music rooms, play-houses, pageants, wrestling matches, jugglers, pantomimes, and other ill-timed spectacles without end.³ In short, laughing was the order of the day.⁴ In forcible contrast came the reproach from the mouth of the indignant witness : Christ never laughed !

But there was a remnant, a large remnant, who reflected upon the mysterious dispensations of God that were going on. Never were there more holy bishops, more saintly monks, more devout virgins and matrons, a more zealous clergy. We have high authority for saying that the fifth century produced more canonized Bishops in France than all the subsequent centuries together.⁵ Numbers of these servants of God had suffered in the distresses of the age, some death, some spoliation, some tortures, some other various acts of violence. This circumstance aggravated the general calamity, and at the same time increased the perplexity

¹ See Gub. Dis. p. 84.

² Ibid. p. 124.

³ Ibid. p. 126 et 141. Vid. also Aug. Civ. Dei. p. 43. Ben. Nova Ed.

⁴ p. 130.

⁵ Dubos Hist. Crit. p. 17.

of religious men. How was God's wisdom and justice to be vindicated amid so much innocence and misfortune? That it must and could be vindicated none doubted. The Invasion of the Barbarians, with its cruel consequences, Christian writers had little hesitation in declaring to be a divine punishment for the sins of the world. "I will visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes," was the language of the Psalmist which the orthodox pleader would cite. "On account of men's excessive pride, their licentiousness and avarice, their execrable wickedness and impiety, God had visited the earth with a scourge."¹ "We have hardened ourselves, said another, as rocks; the greatest afflictions have not availed to make us feel our wickedness, and notwithstanding this inundation of Barbarians, the natives of Gaul are just as they were."²

But was the world worse than it had been two or three centuries back, under Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Commodus, Heliogabalus? Had not the empire espoused the cause of the Church, and was not Paganism fast dying away? Were there not thousands of holy monks, hermits, virgins, bishops and priests, for a sweet-smelling savour unto the Lord? Why had these very Saints endured cruelties and shame unprecedented? Would not the blasphemies of the heathens receive encouragement if the introduction of Christ's religion and the desertion of Jupiter's temples were announced by such disasters?³

To these difficulties it was answered, that come what

¹ St. Aug. Civ. Dei. ch. ix. B. I.

² Salvian, p. 141.

³ St. Aug. Civ. Dei. Lib. i. Passim. Vid. etiam Prosper, Poem. de Providentia, apud Hist. de la Gaule. Bouquet.

would, it was a standing truth, that the reward of the good is not in this world, that no temporal chastisements are to be considered as the full retribution of the reprobate. Why do men look for the recompense of a holy life here on earth? Why do they despond because the wicked have leisure to scoff? Adversity is not for bad men, but for the good. It is true, we may seek reverently to understand the reason of God's dealings with us, because His government is a moral one. Might this then not be, that there is a point at which the Divine justice can no longer endure the accumulated sins of past years, and wrath goes out from Him to spread general devastation? And in thus acting does He not hasten the reward of the good, while he sweeps away the wicked? The delays of God's vengeance are thought a serious objection; but why? If He spares Rome under Nero, He reserves the punishment of her crimes for the next world. If He pours forth His wrath upon Rome under Honorius and Arcadius, who knows but this may be part of a merciful dispensation? He punishes now that he may save hereafter. Some but for this visitation might have died in impenitency. Nay, there is a plain reason why this should be so. If every crime was straightway followed by its corresponding punishment, it might be thought that nothing was left for the last judgment. On the other hand, if no sin was punished in this world, it might be urged that there was no Divine Providence always presiding over the world. However, wisdom is justified of her children.

But there are two cardinal mistakes which men generally make when they dispute the wisdom of God's dealings; either by contemplating only individual cases, they forget the broad principles upon which all govern-

ment hangs ; or they pass over the real nature of the case, and its particulars, in endeavouring to lay down general rules and maxims of justice and prudence. This last error then was also to be noticed, in order to settle the real state of the argument. And in fact, by a close examination into the history of the times, it was observed that a peculiar and minute providence seemed to have been in many cases displayed. The better part of mankind had by no means been so free from guilt as to expect exemption from a general visitation of God. While “kings had become the nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers” of the Church, a supineness and indifference unknown to times of persecution had crept into the Christian community. A love of worldly things was encroaching even upon the most serious and strict. With the married portion the circumstance was notorious. But retired virgins and monks were now taken up with an idle regard to opinion ; pride and self-deception were making rapid strides. And Christians were beginning to show plainly their secret tenderness for vice, and respect for men’s persons, in the unlawful leniency with which the faults of others were treated, and which they denominated charity. But to descend further still into details. When Rhadagaisus, in 406, came rushing like a torrent with his countless multitude of Goths upon the capital of the empire, he was with his whole army exterminated on the plains of Etruria, without loss on the part of the Romans. Now at this very time the Pagans in Rome were vehemently upbraiding the Christians, saying, that Rhadagaisus, the Goth, must of necessity conquer and take the city, because their gods had been exploded and the God of the Christians introduced.¹

¹ It was a popular saying among the Pagans, “*Pluvia deficit causâ Christiani.*”

Here the destruction of the irresistible Goths seemed to come like a miraculous interposition of Divine Justice. Nothing was better authenticated. The news was brought from all sides to Carthage, where St. Augustine lived. Again, when Rome was captured and pillaged by Alarie, there was this to be remarked that Alarie was a Christian, and a man of high qualities, though a Barbarian. Nor did he suffer promiscuous devastation. The natural chances of war had their play ; but he had given strict orders that the temples of God should be spared, and all who had taken refuge there should be safe from the fury of the soldiery.¹

CHAPTER XXIV.

St. German at Milan.

GERMAN was now in the last year of his life ; he was nearly seventy years old, having been born in 378. He had passed thirty years in the fulfilment of the arduous duties of a bishop, a bishop of the fifth century. He had acted in the various capacities of Apostle, spiritual overseer, mediator between nations at war, temporal magistrate, teacher of Gaul, president and counsellor at Synods, adviser of Bishops and Archbishops. At last he was invested with the office of

¹ See St. Aug. Civ. Dei. Lib. I. ch. viii., &c. and Lib. II. ch. iii. Lib. V. ch. xxiii. 22.—St. Chrys. Hom. ad Antioch. § 6. tom. ii. p. 8.—Comp. Le Maistre. Soirées de St. Petersbourg, tom. ii. p. 143-150.—Jeremy Taylor's Serm. on the Entail of Curses, and Chateaubriand's Martyrs.

Ambassador. Never since his ordination had he known peace and tranquillity. Even among so many illustrious prelates, who by their sanctity and vigorous activity preserved some remaining order in the political agitations which disturbed the world, German seemed to stand alone. "He went on," says Constantius, "from strength to strength, according to the Psalmist."

Losing no time, he set off immediately for Italy to discharge his new functions. At first his way lay in the direction which he had previously taken, when he went to Arles through Lyons. He came again to the village in the district of Alesia, where his friend the presbyter Senator lived. It will be remembered that on his former journey through this place, Senator and Nectariola had received him under their hospitable roof, and that his departure had been followed by a remarkable miracle.¹ When he arrived there the second time, Senator presented to him a girl about twenty years old, who was dumb. German then rubbed her mouth, her forehead, and her face, with some oil which he had blessed ; afterwards he took a cup, into which he had broken three small bits of bread ; placing one of the bits into her mouth with his own hands, he bade her swallow it and the others, using a form of grace beforehand. Immediately with a loud voice she pronounced the thanksgiving, swallowed the bread, and obtained the faculty of speaking which she had not possessed till then.

After this miracle, German threw himself into the arms of his friend Senator, with a burst of feeling to which he had not been known to give way ; and having embraced him affectionately, he exclaimed : " Farewell

¹ See Ch. xix. p. 183.

for ever, beloved brother, farewell. God grant that we may meet at the day of judgment without confusion of face ; for on earth we shall never again enjoy the company of each other." In fact he had been granted a foresight of his approaching end.

The attendants which he took with him were few ; probably as few as were consistent with the dignity of a nation's representative, as many as his own modesty would permit. Among these were some of his own clergy. On a former occasion we find he had travelled on horseback : at his more advanced age, he would not have parted with this small comfort, on a journey of such length and difficulty. However, though he courted privacy, multitudes thronged to meet him. This journey was long after famous ; on all the high roads by which he passed, oratories and images of the cross were subsequently erected, indicating the places where he had stopped to pray and to preach. When Constantius wrote nearly forty years after, he could appeal to them as standing witnesses.

When he came near to Autun, a large multitude issued to receive him. It was his practice to visit the burial places of the Saints, and on this occasion he directed first his steps to the tomb of the Bishop St. Cassian, which according to custom was situated without the town. The tomb of St. Cassian was renowned for the veneration in which it was held by the people. St. Gregory of Tours, at a later period says,¹ it was every where pricked and scraped, and full of holes, from the number of sick persons who had come to be cured of their diseases. This St. Cassian, who must not be confounded with St. Cassian the Martyr, or

¹ Gloria Confess. 74, and Baillet Vie des Saints, Aug. v.

with the famous John Cassian, lived in the fourth century ; he was born at Alexandria, and for a time was Bishop of Ortha, in Egypt. Afterwards he passed into Gaul, and settled at Autun with St. Rheticius, Bishop of that place, and finally succeeded to him in that See. His death, of which no precise account has been left, but which was apparently natural, secured him a place among the Confessors of the time. German, on approaching his sepulchre, beheld on the white stone the figure of the cross, formed, as it were, by the different shades of the marble, a kind of evidence of the departed Saint's virtues. On seeing this, he offered up a prayer as he was wont, and exclaimed : " What art thou doing here, illustrious brother ?" Immediately St. Cassian from the tomb answered in the hearing of all present : " I am enjoying sweet peace without interruption, and waiting for the coming of the Redeemer." Then German replied : " Repose there long in Christ. But do thou intercede earnestly with our Lord Jesus Christ for us and for this people, that we may be esteemed meet to hear the sound of the Divine trumpet, and obtain the joys of a holy resurrection." " Such," remarks Constantius, " was the marvellous gift of German, that he could hold intercourse even with those who were concealed in the grave ; each one of the miracles he performed had its wonders ; but the rarity of examples of this kind adds to our astonishment ; two Saints of great fame who had never been in the presence of each other, were here holding converse together, the one among the living, the other among the dead ; both indeed citizens of the blessed and heavenly Jerusalem, both enjoying already heaven in part, both in part yet sojourning on earth ; he who was already in possession of his country, recognized

his fellow-soldier, still in exile, and responded to his prayers and address."¹

While German stopped at Autun, surrounded by a large number of people, a man and his wife came to him, and kneeling down, presented their daughter, who was grown up, and afflicted with a grievous infirmity. From her birth, the nerves of her fingers had been contracted, and turned round into the palm of her hand ; the nails had pierced the hand, and penetrated as far as the bones. German then took hold of her fingers, and restored them one by one to their proper direction. When he had done this, so great was his charity in little things, we are told, that with his own hands he condescended to cut the nails of the girl, which had grown to an excessive length.

After this action, he left Autun, and proceeded on his journey to Italy. He had, as yet, advanced but a short way. The road from Auxerre to Milan, by Vienne and the Cottian Alps, is described in the Antonine Itinerary,² as being of the extent of six hundred and thirty-four Roman miles. We are not informed by which way St. German went to Italy, but the collection of circumstances may lead to a probable conjecture. There seem to have been three principal roads between Auxerre and Milan, two of which were the same, as far as Vienne. The other lay in the direction of the Jura,³ taking in Alesia, Dijon, Besançon, Pontarlier, Orbe, Lausanne, St. Maurice, Martigny, and the Great St. Bernard (the Mons Jovis.)

¹ "Votis et alloquio." Vit. S. Germ. Lib. ii. § 64. Boll. and p. 23, MS. Bodlei.

² Vid. Recueil, des Hist. tom. i. p. 105.

³ See the Map of Bouquet & Le Beuf, in Recueil des Hist. t. i.

That this road was a frequented one in early times, is shown by the famous massacre of the Christian Legion, called the Theban, by the Emperor Maximian, in the beginning of the fourth century, which took place at Agaunum, the romantic spot since called St. Maurice, from one of the martyred soldiers ; and in the ninth century, the remains of St. Urban and St. Tiburtius, which were brought from Italy to Auxerre, passed by St. Maurice.¹ However, there is more reason to think St. German followed one of the other roads. Tradition affirmed he took Vienne and Vercellæ on his way ;² and Hericus of Auxerre, whose attention had been carefully directed to every small circumstance connected with his patron Saint, tells us that the Penine Alps were famous for his miracles, and especially the Mons *minoris* Jovis, which there is every reason to suppose was the Little St. Bernard,³ as distinguished from the Great St. Bernard, *the* Mons Jovis. This inference is supported by the fact that a village, situated just under the Little St. Bernard, is named to this day Colona Joux, which latter word is a corruption of Jovis ; and perhaps still more by another village, close to the same spot, which is still called St. Germain. And indeed Hericus, in the ninth century, positively affirms that all who go to Rome must unavoidably pass by this way ; and he informs us that the village alluded to was called after St. German, because the body of the Saint not long after rested there, on its return to Gaul ; and a Church in his honour

¹ Heric. de Mir. ch. iii. 109 §.

² Ado Viennensis apud Bolland. notas.

³ See D'Anville Descript. de la France.—Fol. Bosch. Not. ad locum Herici. ch. viii. de Mir. Arrowsmith's last large Atlas. 1832.

was there erected. It is conceived, then, that German went first to Vienne, then to the Little St. Bernard, afterwards to Eporedia, now called Ivrea, and thence to Vercelli, on towards Milan.

During his passage of the Alps, (for of this there is no doubt whatever) he fell in with some workmen who were returning from their labour. Oppressed with their burdens, they had great difficulty in ascending the mountainous steeps. They came to the banks of a torrent which, like Alpine torrents, rushed violently down the hill. The stepping-stones which were thrown across, were but uncertain and vacillating. One of the poor travellers was an old and lame man. Seeing this, German took himself the burden on his shoulders, and deposited it on the other side ; then he returned, and carried over the old man in the same way. To appreciate this signal act of charity, we are desired by Constantius to consider the extreme age of German himself. His face, he says, was emaciated by the rigour of his fasts ; he seldom eat any thing but once a week, and then only barley bread ; he never got sleep, except on a hard couch ; was ever employed in long and wearisome journeys, and was hardly able to support himself. Such was the man who, born of noble parents, and raised to the highest stations in the empire, and dignified with the title of Apostle, could lower himself towards a poor old labourer in this touching manner.

Tradition brings German next to Vercelli, where, not St. Eusebius, as Hericus supposes,¹ but some other Bishop, received him, perhaps St. Albinus. The circumstances of his reception and its results, will be best

¹ Heric. de Mir. § 29. Ughellus, Ital. Sacra, tom. iv.

understood at a later period of this narrative. Suffice it to say, that the Bishop desired St. German to dedicate on his return a Church he was building, which he promised to do. It is however to be remarked, that there is still a village near Vercelli, called after St. German.

German arrived at Milan on the Festival of St. Protasius and Gervasius ; that is, the 19th of June, 448.¹ These were the two martyrs whose remains had been discovered by Ambrose, and gave occasion to the well known miracle performed on a blind man. A great many bishops,² with other clergy, were assembled for the feast. Milan was a metropolitan See, and one which has ever possessed peculiar and independent privileges. There were fifteen Suffragan Bishops within the diocese.³ St. Barnabas the Apostle was said to have founded the See of Milan. In all probability St. Lazarus was Bishop when German arrived, if it be true that he was elected in 440, and governed eleven years. He has deserved special mention in the Roman martyrology, and been praised in ten lines of poetry by Ennodius Ticinensis.

We must now imagine St. Lazarus in the principal Church clothed with his pontifical vestments, as for a great festival of the city, after the fashion of the very ancient Mosaic representation of the Archbishop of Ravenna in the Church of San Vitale ⁴ He would be dressed in a white surplice or albe, with the pallium, the mark of his dignity, which was now coming into use in the West after the

¹ Bede Ephemeris Junii.

² Sacerdotes.

³ Ughellus, Ital. Sacra, tom. iv.

⁴ See the interesting Drawing in Knight's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy. Folio, 1842.

custom of the Oriental Churches. This pallium seems to have been very different from the Archiepiscopal pall of a later period, which resembles a stole or scarf passed round the neck and joining over the breast. In the fifth century there is reason to think it was a white woollen chasuble or cloak, which covered nearly the whole body, without seam, and open only at the top to admit the head, descending nearly to the heels, and concealing the greater part of the albe. The significance of this vestment consisted in its being an emblem of the sheep whom the Good Shepherd recovers from its wanderings and places on His shoulders. Hence it was called in Greek the Homophorion.¹ Over the pallium of St. Lazarus, a stole of white silk or other stuff would be hanging on both sides, with a small black or coloured cross at each end. In his right hand he might be carrying an image of the cross, gilt, or of gold, with blue spots at intervals, probably some precious stones of great value. The minor clergy about him would also be clad in white surplices ; some might be carrying the volume of the Gospels, others the censers with frankincense. The tonsure would be different according to the office of the ecclesiastic ; the baldness

¹ See Thomassin. de Discipl.—where the following apposite passage from St. Isidorus Pelusiota, is quoted. Lib. i. Ep. 136. “Episcopi Pallium, ὁμοφώριον ex lanâ, non ex lino contextum, ovis illius, quam Dominus aberrantem quæsit, inventamque humeris suis sustulit, pellem significat. Episcopus enim qui Christi typum gerit, ipsius munere fungitur, atque etiam ipso habitu illud omnibus ostendit, se boni illius ac magni Pastoris imitorem esse, qui gregis infirmitates sibi ferendas proposuit.”

It will be remarked, that a contrary opinion has here been admitted to that which is given in Mr. Palmer's Orig. Lib. vol. ii. p. 322.

of the Archbishop perhaps being more entire, the subordinate clergy having a kind of wreath of hair just above the temples and round by the ears. In this manner would St. Lazarus proceed to celebrate the Mass. He was now at the Altar with his Bishops and Clergy in the middle of the Sacred mysteries, when German, unknown and unexpected, entered the Cathedral. Immediately one of the people who was possessed with an evil spirit screamed out distinctly : “ Why dost thou, German, persecute us even into Italy ? Let it suffice thee to have banished us from Gaul, and overcome both us and the waves of the ocean by thy prayers. Why art thou found every where ? Be still, that we also may be in peace.” The Church was full of people. Every one turned round with surprise and fear. Each asked his neighbour who German might be. The dress of the traveller was so humble that he might have been overlooked, had not the dignity of his countenance attracted the attention of all. Upon being questioned, he declared who he was. By this time the Bishop of Milan and his assistants had come down from the Bema and Altar ; and signified their profound respect for the Saint of God. They entreated him to heal the madman who had declared his arrival. Then German took him apart into the Sacristy, a place adjoining the Church, where the sacred vessels were kept and the clergy changed their vestments.¹ German there released the afflicted man, and brought him back sound to the multitude who filled the Cathedral. This miracle was followed by others ; many came to be cured of their diseases, and returned in health. Crowds flocked to receive his blessing, and hear him preach.

¹ Ducange ad voc. *Secrarium*.

CHAPTER XXV.

St. German at Ravenna.

GERMAN soon left Milan, and proceeded towards Ravenna. He had not gone far when he was met by some beggars, who requested an alms. Having enquired of a Deacon who attended him, how much there was in the bag, he was told, three pieces of gold. "Give them all," he said. The Deacon surprised, asked what they themselves were to live upon. "God," said he, "will feed his own poor ; do thou give what thou hast." The Deacon to be prudent gave away two pieces, and secretly reserved one. As they advanced in the direction of the river Po, they were overtaken by some men on horseback, who dismounting and falling on their knees, informed him that their master Leporius, a man in high authority,¹ who lived not far off, was ill with all his family of a fever ; they entreated him to repair thither, or if this were impossible, to pray for Leporius at a distance. But German consented to go out of his way, and came to the residence of the nobleman, notwithstanding the objections urged by his attendants. The men who had desired his aid, immediately offered the present of two hundred pieces of gold which had been sent by them. Then he turned to the Deacon and said : "Take this offering, and consider that thou hast defrauded God's own poor ; for if thou hadst given to the beggars the three pieces as I charged thee,

¹ Vir spectabilis.

we should now have received three hundred pieces instead of two hundred." His companion blushed to think his secret actions should thus have been disclosed.

They then hastened to Leporius, who was highly pleased to see German. Upon entering, the latter fell down in prayer, and forthwith healed the nobleman and all his family. Then he visited the cottages in the neighbourhood where the epidemic raged, and cured every one. This miracle took place not far from Milan, at the village of Niguarda,¹ where a Church dedicated to St. German is said still to bear witness to his visit. This had necessarily caused considerable delay, and it was not before the third day that he was able to set out again, accompanied a short way by Leporius himself.

In the mean time, fame had given notice of his progress at Ravenna, where he was expected with great anxiety. Like Sidonius Apollinaris, on a similar expedition, nineteen years after, he would descend into the plains of the Po, following, however, the course of the yellow Lambro, instead of the Tessin, to Placentia, a town he was afterwards to revisit under very different circumstances. Then embarking on the post-barges of the Po,² he would pass by the conflux of the blue Adda, the swift Adige, the sluggish Mincio, which take their sources in the Ligurian and Euganean mountains; his eyes would be refreshed by the shades of the groves of oaks and maple trees which crown their

¹ Bosch. not ad locum Const.

² "Cursoriam sic navigio nomen." Sid. Apoll. Ep. v. lib. i. "Celoces et holcadas, quibus excursus per alveum Padi faciebant." Cassiodorus apud Notas in Sid. Apoll. Sirmond.

banks, where the sweet concert of birds issued at the same time from the rushes and reeds of their bed, and the thickets and bushes which so closely line the way. He would, like Sidonius, pass under the walls of Cremona, and perhaps remember Virgil's verses ; then behold at a little distance, the scene of Otho's single act of heroism, the memorable town of Brixillum, and at last arrive by one of the many mouths of the Po, in sight of Ravenna.

Ravenna, we are told, was not originally a Roman colony, but a municipal town,¹ to which the Romans granted the right of governing itself by its own laws, the privilege of having the same offices and dignities as the Roman people, and exemption from all kind of tribute. Here was the residence of the Prætor. The assemblies of the provinces were held in it, and a large fleet filled the fine harbour. Of late, the Roman Emperors had been much attached to this town, which always remained faithful. Honorius and Valentinian III. had fixed their abode here, and built palaces. In subsequent times, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, made it the centre of his new kingdom ; and till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered the capital of Italy and the seat of government. The palace and sepulchre of Theodoric may still be seen.² "At Ravenna," says Sidonius,³ "you might be perplexed to know whether the great imperial street which traverses it, connects or separates the old city from the new harbour. Two branches of the Po circulate through the town and divide it. This river, which

¹ See Not. in Sid. Ap. ed. Lyons, 1836.

² Gibbon, tom. iv. p. 28. Knight's Eccles. Architect.

³ Sid. Apoll. Epist. 5. b. i.

was drawn off from the principal stream by artificial means, has been divided into various channels, which flow round the walls of the city and defend it from external attack, and again penetrate into the interior, for the advantage of commerce. Every thing here is in favour of traffic ; provisions are in abundance. Yet when the salt waters of the sea enter by the flood-gates on one side, and on the other the miry waters of the canals are agitated by the many boats which pass to and fro, and the mud is dug up by the poles of the sailors who steer their way : even in the middle of water we were thirsty ; in truth, nowhere is the aqueduct itself quite limpid, nor the cistern without impurities ; much less is there a fresh source or a clean well." This, of course, is in some measure a partial description of the majestic Ravenna ; and a more complete idea may be obtained from Gibbon ;¹ yet it well represents the great feature of the place, intersected as it was with canals, and surrounded by extensive marshes and the sea.

German had managed to arrive there by night, to avoid publicity ; yet the people were on the look-out for him, and he did not enter unobserved. The chief men of the town came out to meet him, with numbers of all rank and age. Among these was St. Peter, Archbishop of Ravenna, surnamed Chrysologus, from his eloquence, and well known in the Church. Of him it is that the following interesting anecdote has been preserved in the Breviary Service for his Festival, the 4th of December. "In his sermons addressed to the people, his language was often so energetic, that the vehemence of his exertions sometimes caused his voice to fail all at once. This hap-

¹ Tom. iv. p. 27.

pened on the occasion of his Discourse upon the Woman that had the issue of blood. The inhabitants of Ravenna, seeing the impediment which had suddenly come upon him, moved with sympathy, filled the place with such earnest lamentations and prayers to God, that afterwards he returned thanks to God that the injury which his voice and discourse had received had been turned to such a demonstration of love." The Roman Breviary has besides, several Lessons, taken from his writings, for the Festivals of other Saints, as many are aware. Of him it was also said, that he literally governed his Church according to the Apostolic precepts.¹ His life in the Episcopate was similar to that which he had led before his elevation ; for he had been a monk. He was, moreover, in high favour with the Emperor and Empress. Six other Bishops were likewise in the suite of German, but their names are not given. It would require no great stretch of imagination to seek for the great St. Leo the Pope among them. He was a personal friend of St. Peter Chrysologus, and much in request at the Court of Ravenna, which he had often served in emergencies. But as Constantius is silent, it is more probable they were suffragan Bishops of St. Peter,² one of whom might be Cornelius, Bishop of Imola, an intimate friend of Chrysologus, to whose elevation he had been instrumental.³

As soon as German was known to have arrived, the Empress Placidia sent a valuable vessel of silver to

¹ Constantius § 70. Bolland. Tillemont, tom. xv. Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332.

² There were ten Suffragans of Ravenna.

³ See Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332. ed. 1647.

him, filled with delicate provisions, without any mixture of flesh. Having accepted the present, he delivered the contents to his followers and his clerical attendants, and begged leave to sell the silver vessel for the sake of the poor. As a return to the Empress, he sent her a little wooden dish, containing some barley bread. Placidia was greatly pleased with the action of German, and received with deep reverence the humble platter and food of the Saint. Afterwards, she caused the wooden dish to be chased in gold, and preserved the bread, which became afterwards the means of many miraculous cures.¹

Galla Placidia was mother of the Emperor Valentinian III., and sister of the late Emperor Honorius. Three females were at this time at the head of the government in the Western and Eastern Empires. Pulcheria and Eudocia, the sister and wife of the young Theodosius, reigned supreme at Constantinople. Placidia, taught by a life of adventures and troubles, directed the affairs of the West. Her son, Valentinian, had been on the throne since 425, that is, twenty-three years. Grandson of the Great Theodosius, he did not prove that the talent which misses one generation returns in the next. "His long minority," says Gibbon, "was entrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western Empire—Placidia; but she could not equal the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius (the younger), the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising; she reigned twenty-five years in the name of her son; and the character of that un-

¹ So Tillemont renders the passage. Art. de St. Germain.

worthy Emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit." This portrait is here given, chiefly as indicating a subject for candid enquiry, should a mind more congenial to Christian and Catholic development than that of Gibbon, be turned to the study of the ambiguous characters of Placidia and Valentinian. Constantius, whose friend, Sidonius Apollinaris, was acquainted with the Court of Ravenna as well as any of his age, positively affirms that Placidia and Valentinian were both zealous for the Catholic faith, and though so high in the world, were ever known to lower themselves for the honour of God's servants. On the occasion we are now interested in, it is certain they were foremost in showing the greatest respect to German; nor could it be said that Ambrose, when suing for a guilty province at the Court of Theodosius the Great, had met with more deference and considerateness than now was evinced by the grand-son of that prince to the advocate of the Armoricans.

Some short time, it appears, elapsed before he found a favourable opportunity of laying the cause of this people before Valentinian. One day as he was walking in one of the broadest streets surrounded by a number of persons, he passed by the gates of the prison, then filled with many who had been doomed to die or suffer some severe penalty. Hearing that German was passing by, they all at once raised a loud cry. He enquired the cause, and called for the door-keepers, who had concealed themselves, and learnt from them that the dissensions of the contending factions at court had occasioned a recent importation of these unhappy victims into the state prisons.

Those who are acquainted with the history of this period, will be able to understand how many acts of tyranny were then executed in the imperial name, though in fact they emanated from subordinate ministers and officers. When German saw that it was useless to seek for mercy elsewhere, he had recourse to that Divine aid which had so often been present with him. He advanced towards the prison and fell down in prayer. It was not long before its efficacy was manifested. The bars and bolts of the gates were suddenly loosened, and a number of prisoners came forth with their chains unfastened, which they held up to the view of the multitude. Prisons are made for the lawless, and for the protection of justice and peace ; in this case, says Constantius, law seemed to be justified in the violation of its securities. The released men then, together with German and the whole multitude, proceeded to the Church to return thanks.

The fame of his miracles daily spread ; people came from all sides. The sick and infirm were healed. It seemed that the gift of Christ obtained more virtue as German was drawing to the close of his life. The seven Bishops before mentioned, among whom was St. Peter Chrysologus, hardly ever left his side. They were alike filled with astonishment at the incessant mortifications he practised, and the wonderful miracles he performed. And their testimony, which is of the highest character, as Constantius expressly declares, is corroborative of the evidence for his miracles which are proved from so many other sources.¹

There was a man about the court who acted as chief secretary to the Patrician Segisvultus.² He had a son

¹ " *Illi testes operum illius multis temporibus fuere.*"

² " *Qui tum patritii Segisvulti cancellis præerat.*"

that was dying of a low fever. The physicians had given him over, and his parents were in the utmost affliction. At last they bethought themselves of seeking help from the Bishop of Auxerre. Their son could scarcely be said to live. They came with their relations and friends and humbly implored his assistance. The Bishops, his companions, joined in the request. He then hastened to visit the dying youth. While they were going, a messenger came to say that the son of Volusianus (for so the Secretary was called) was dead, and that there was no longer any need of troubling the holy man. The other Bishops, however, would not let him stop, but earnestly bid him perfect the work of mercy. They found the body lifeless; the heat of nature had gone, the corpse was cold as stone. They then offered up a prayer for the rest of his soul,¹ and were on the point of returning, when the by-standers began to weep and bewail bitterly. The Bishops then entreated him to pray the Lord in behalf of the bereaved parents, for the restoration of the youth. He hesitated long; if we except the uncertain miracle performed in the company of St. Amian, near Orleans, this was the first call upon his power for raising a dead man. Such a deed had scarcely been known in ecclesiastical history. However, we are told, his feelings of compassion and charity, combined with that confidence which so long a life of faith produced, urged him to make the trial. He removed the crowd, as when his Master had raised the daughter of Jairus; then like Elijah and Elisha, he knelt down over the corpse. His tears fell in abundance, and he called instantly upon the name of Christ. In the meantime, the dead youth began to move, and by degrees the limbs recovered

¹ *Depositæque pro animæ requie oratione.*"

their animation. The eyes sought the light, the fingers began to bend, the tongue to falter. Then German arose from prayer, and raised up the youth, who like Lazarus might be said "to have slept but not unto death." He sat up, drew his breath, stretched himself, looked around. At last his whole strength returned. Great was the joy of his parents, loud were the acclamations of the people. The end of German was near at hand; this miracle was a kind of type of the glory which was soon to be given to him.

There was yet another about the court who had reason to be grateful to him. This was a pupil of the Eunuch Acholius¹ who held the chief office of Chamberlain. He had brought up the young man with great care, and imbued him with a love for letters. An evil spirit however crushed his energies; every month at the moon's full, he was seized with what is called the falling sickness, of which there is frequent mention in ancient history.² Caesar, according to Plutarch, was subject to it; and there have been some who thought St. Paul was liable to it.³ All the authority of the imperial household was used to obtain German's help. Accordingly when he had examined the young man, contrary to his practice, (for he was wont to expel the most furious spirits by simple imposition of hands), he deferred purifying him to another day. The malignant influence had made the unfortunate young man a very receptacle, as it were, of Satan's operations. German desired he might be left

¹ Or Scolius. Bodl. MS. In this MS. here follows a story referred by Bosch. to Hericus's Works. It is also found in the Codex Chifflet., but in a different place. It is here omitted as unimportant and uncertain.

² "Caduca allisione prosternit."

³ Bishop Bull. Sermon.

alone with him for the night. In the same night the evil spirit came out of him, wallowing and confessing that it had dwelt in him since his earliest years. The young man thus restored to health, soon returned to his station in the palace.

The time was come when he deemed it seasonable to explain the object of his journey. His negotiations with the Emperor and Empress proved successful ; and he might have carried home their pardon to the Armoricans, with terms of peace. But while he was interceding for them, the news came that this restless people had again revolted. The efforts he had made were thus rendered void. And the Emperor was greatly irritated at their conduct. A learned and ingenious writer,¹ whose chronological views alone need here be suspected, conjectures with great probability, that the reasons which might induce the Armoricans to thwart the negotiations of their deputy, were such as the following. Actius, the Patrician, their great enemy and dread, was at this time embarrassed with his war against the Franks, who, under their king Clodion, were then making an invasion into the north of Gaul, where they had taken possession of Cambray and Tournay. Secondly, the extreme misery of all who lived within the Roman dominion, except the nobles and chief men, and the continual reinforcements which daily desertions brought to the Armorican confederacy, would at the same time raise their expectations of success in rebellion, and make them still more averse to further connexion with the Empire. Moreover it appears there was a very general feeling abroad that the duration of the Roman power, as foretold by the

¹ L'Abbé Dubos *Etablissement de la Monarchie Française*. tom. i. p. 393.

ancient pagan oracles, was now about to expire. Lastly, the officers and auxiliaries appear to have taken an unfair advantage of the suspension of arms, in order to form underhand a party within the Armorican republic, with a view to an easier conquest hereafter. Whether Eochar, with that inconsistency which is so frequent after sudden revivals of conscience, and that natural tendency of a Barbarian to gratify whatever impression was uppermost, violated his sacred engagements with German and gave fresh alarm to the Armoricans, we are not strictly informed. It might seem indeed that this latter people trifled with the character of their ambassador. But the case requires consideration. The pardon and favour of the Court of Ravenna, though the most easily obtained, was not after all the main point to be gained. When there are many degrees of authority, it is the nearest to themselves which men are most interested in conciliating. As long as Aetius and the Alani remained in their neighbourhood, the Armoricans would ever have to fear. It was also an impolitic measure, though the only one practicable, to apply to the Court of Ravenna, instead of Aetius. However, the revolt of the nation was soon after followed by a severe chastisement at the hands of their enemies.¹ Still up to the great invasion of the Huns in 451, the Armoricans had not been entirely subdued, and continued to give no little anxiety to the vigilant Patrician. But when this scourge of God threatened Gaul, political animosities were laid aside, and all the inhabitants of the country united against Attila and his forces.² And now to return.

¹ Constantius.² Dubos, tom. i. p. 439-441.

CHAPTER XXVI.

His Death.

ONE morning after the celebration of mass (the expression belongs to the original), St. German was discoursing upon subjects of religion with the Bishops that waited on him. In the middle of the conversation he said to them : “ I commend to you, beloved brethren, my death. Methought, during the sleep of the night, I received from our Lord the provisions for a journey ; and when I asked the cause of this journey, ‘ Fear not, he said, I send thee to thy proper country, to no foreign land ; there thou shalt have eternal rest and peace.’ ” The Bishops then endeavoured to interpret the dream otherwise ; but he continued to refer it to his death ; “ I well know what that country is which God promises to his servants.” His foresight was not at fault. A few days after, on the 25th of July, 448, A. D., he was taken seriously ill. When he grew no better but ever worse, the whole city was moved. It was clear death was now approaching with rapid strides, as if to spare him, who had died for thirty years to the world, the sufferings of a protracted departure. Among the numbers who came to pay their last respects to him while alive, was the Empress Placidia. Putting aside the grandeur of her rank, she hastened to visit his bedside. She then promised to grant whatever he should ask. Upon one thing he laid great stress : his body was to be restored to his native country ; nor was it a request which Placidia was inclined to accept. He was not however re-

fused. In the meantime multitudes came to visit the dying Saint by night and by day. During the seven days of his sickness, there was a choir at his bedside singing Psalms. On the seventh day, says Constantius, the 31st of July, the happy and blessed soul of German was carried up to heaven.¹ He had been Bishop thirty years and twenty-five days.

His inheritance was then divided. The chief claimants were the Emperor and the Empress, his mother, and the Bishops. His relics were esteemed worth all other riches, and each one endeavoured out of the little the Saint had to leave, to obtain something. Placidia got the little box which enclosed the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German wore at his breast, and with which he had performed miracles. St. Peter Chrysologus took for himself the monk's hood,² with the hair cloth which touched his skin.³ The other Bishops, in order to obtain some small legacy, were content to tear the garments which remained; one took the over-coat,⁴ another the belt; two divided the tunic, two others the coarse cloth⁵ on which he lay.

The magnificence of the funeral procession displayed the zeal of the court and city. All came forward to contribute. Acholius, the Eunuch of the royal chamber, whose pupil had been healed by German, presented costly spices to embalm his body. The Empress Placidia, covered it with a rich dress, with the Eagle and the imperial arms designed upon it, in which silk, a very precious material at that time, was combined with fine

¹ See ult. § Const. Bodl. M.S. and Bolland. Robert. Monach. Chron. Ed. 1609, Trecis.

² Cuculla.

³ Cum interiori cilicio.

⁴ Pallium, not the pall apparently, as he was not Metropolitan.

⁵ Sagulum vid. suprâ, p. 54. Not.

embroidery ;¹ and had it placed in a coffin of cypress wood ; both which were long after preserved at Auxerre, and seen by Hericus. The Emperor paid the expenses of the Translation to Gaul, and conferred a munificent largess upon the clerical and lay attendants of the departed Saint. The ceremonies in use for the translation of a corpse, were then performed by the Bishops who had been with him in his last hours. At the head of these was the Archbishop of Ravenna, St. Peter Chrysologus. The Church has subjects of glory and exultation which seem singular to the world. Among them is the honour of burying Saints and attending their last hours. “To St. Peter, says the Breviary, the honour was granted of burying two Saints who died at Ravenna, Barbatian the Presbyter, and German Bishop of Auxerre, whose bodies he embalmed with costly ointments.” After the preparations were concluded, messengers were sent before the funeral procession to prepare the due solemnities wherever he should pass.²

The procession then set off. Its splendour and pomp were almost unequalled. A vast concourse of people followed. It arrived at Placentia by night. The coffin was deposited in the Cathedral, and a vigil instituted, during which religious offices were performed. Then a woman, an inhabitant of Placentia, who had a palsy, and had lost the use of her limbs, requested the permission to lie under the coffin ; and in this position she remained till the return of day. Early the coffin was taken up, and the woman rose. She had recovered the soundness of her body, and to the amazement of all,

¹ Constantius et Hericus de Miraculis. Bosch. Comm.

² This phrase of Const. is thus explained by Hericus de Mir.
§ 27.

walked on with the rest of the people who followed the funeral march.

St. German, when he before passed through Vercelli, had given a promise to the Bishop of that town, probably St. Albinus, that he would on his return from Ravenna dedicate a new Church. When, therefore, says Hericus, the Bishop heard of his death, he proceeded to consecrate it himself. According to custom, he gave orders that the candles should be lighted. But it was in vain ; the candles could not be lighted, the servants tried repeatedly without effect. This lasted for several days, and the Bishop was finally forced to desist. In the meantime, news arrived that the procession was approaching. St. Albinus went out to meet it, and brought the coffin into the new Church. Scarcely had it entered, when the whole Church in an instant lighted up. The Bishop perceived the signal for the dedication was now given, and he performed it. The name of this Church we are told is at present St. Eusebius.

And now the procession moved on again. The natives of Gaul having heard of German's decease, flocked to meet the body of him, whom they considered a patron Saint of their land.¹ At the passage of the Alps, a large multitude were ready to escort him into Gaul.² Each one pressed forward to have the honour of bearing the coffin ; and thus it was borne along by successive carriers ; while the rest filled the air with hymns and exclamations of thanksgiving. The way was covered with memorials which attested the progress of the body. The ardour of the people facilitated the passage of the Alps.³ Some were busied in levelling the roads, others filled the precipices, and restored the decayed bridges.

¹ Const. § 76.

² Hericus, 31, 32.

³ Const.

Many brought offerings of money to defray the expenses. A great number of lights shone in the procession both by day and by night, challenging even the rays of the sun with their brightness.¹ Among those who came to meet the corpse, was one Saturnus, a presbyter and disciple of German. He was noted for his sanctity, and lived in terms of great intimacy with his master. By his order he had remained at Auxerre, while German repaired to Ravenna. On the day in which the latter died, an angel is said to have revealed his decease to Saturnus. Upon which he imparted the sad intelligence to the inhabitants of Auxerre, who accompanied in great numbers to the foot of the Alps. An ancient inscription on marble, preserved at Auxerre in the time of Hericus, bore witness to this fact.

But perhaps the most touching circumstance of the procession was the following. It will have been remarked that the corpse advanced but slowly, as it was borne on men's shoulders, and consequently, a multitude of ardent persons were enabled to accompany from every town the escort for some distance. But the names of five females have been preserved, who followed on foot the body, the whole way from Ravenna. They were all virgins, and some, if not all, sisters. They were called, St. Magnentia, St. Palladia, St. Camilla, St. Maxima, St. Porcaria.² The three first died, one after the other, before they reached the term of their pilgrimage. A solemn burial was performed for them, at the high-road side, and Churches soon after were erected over their remains, and dedicated to them, where many miracles were performed. The two others endured the fatigue, and arrived at Auxerre, to see

¹ Constantius.

² Hericus de Mir. § 33.

the body of German interred. St. Maxima, one of these, was subsequently buried near the Church at Auxerre, where German lay. The remains of St. Porcaria, the other, were deposited nine miles from the town, and were famous for the miraculous cures which there took place. Till very late, we learn there was an ancient tomb existing,¹ in which the body of St. Magnentia, one of those who died on the road, had been laid, and upon which there was the representation of this holy virgin, dying in a bed surrounded by other virgins. And a monument which existed in 1567, in the monastery of St. German, according to the official statement of the then Bishop of Auxerre, bore this inscription. "Here lies the body of the Lady St. Maxima, Virgin, who accompanied the body of St. German from Ravenna to this monastery, together with St. Palladia, St. Magnentia, St. Camilla, and St. Porcaria." From which, it appears these holy virgins were persons of rank.

At last the body arrived at Auxerre. Fifty-three days, says Hericus,² had elapsed since German died at Ravenna. On the 22nd of September, the procession entered the Church of St. Stephen, accompanied by the whole population of the town. Here was the episcopal throne. During ten successive days, the corpse there lay exposed; religious offices were continued all the while. When all the rites preparatory to inhuming were completed, the coffin was committed to the sepulchre, on the 1st of October, 448, A. D., in the presence of a multitude of strangers, as well as inhabitants of Auxerre, among whom, says Hericus, there were many Bishops and Priests from distant provinces;—perhaps St. Lupus, St. Hilary, St. Seve-

¹ Bosch. Not. apud Bolland.

² § 34, § 37.

rus, St. Anian, St. Eucher—the friends of the departed Saint. The place of the burial was not the Church of St. Stephen, where the Exposition had taken place, but an oratory or chapel, in one of those estates which he had given up to the Church when he parted with his patrimony and other possessions. This chapel was dedicated to St. Maurice, and German had appointed the Presbyter Saturnus, the same who came out to meet the procession, to perform the ecclesiastical duties in it. This place, says Constantius, ever showed, by the miracles which were henceforth manifested there, that German in glory was still alive with his Church.

The 1st of October, the day of his Deposition, seems to have been, in primitive times, the principal Festival of the Saint,¹ especially in Gaul and Britain. The 31st of July² was next, if not quite equal, in the honour with which it was observed, and, in process of time, it has come to supersede the former, except at Auxerre, where these two Festivals, with four others in the course of the year, are still kept with great solemnities.

CHAPTER XXVII.

His Canonization.

THE history of St. German *alive*, is thus resumed in four verses of Bede's Ephemeris, or Calendar :—³

¹ Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751. ² See Bede Martyrol. & Calend.

³ Calend. Octob.

Germanusque simul doctrina insignis et actu,
Tum propriam munît meritis Antissiodorum,
Qui Oceano fidei refugas et dogma nefandum
Reppulit, et signis te picta Britannia textit.

For deeds and doctrine German far renowned,
Auxerre, his native city, raised on high,
The Ocean crossed, to probe the faith unsound ;
Then stemming proud Pelagius' impious lie,
Anon the verdant plains of Britain fair,
He covered o'er with signs and wonders rare.

The history of St. German *dead*, that is, of the effects which were owing to his presence in the spirit, among the flock he had tended alive, would embrace a period of at least twelve centuries. Among the early testimonies which redound to his honour, that of the great Apostle of the Franks, St. Remy, must not be omitted.¹ About a century after, it is said, from the great veneration which he had for German of Auxerre, he erected a Church in tribute to him, where he destined his own remains to be deposited ; and it became famous for the miracles there performed.

But still more honourable to our Saint, whose rank in the sacred Calendar is that of Confessor and Bishop, (Pontificis) is the very ancient office called the Mass of St. German, which Cardinal Bona has published from an old manuscript, and which used to be celebrated, not long after German's death, annually, on his Festival in Gaul. The uniformity of the Canon had, as yet, not been everywhere enforced, and Churches seem to have had the privilege of either adopting uses of their own, or of inserting sections and prayers into the

¹ Martyr. Antiss. sub nom. Remigii.

most received form of Mass.¹ The following document seems to be a specimen of the latter :—²

MASS OF ST. GERMAN.

MISSA ST. GERMANI.

PREFACE.

PRÆFATIO.

Dearly beloved brethren, let us celebrate with ready devotion this august and sacred day, imploring humbly the mercy of our Lord, that we who cannot indeed equal the deeds, may be enabled, at least, to follow the footsteps and imitate the Faith of the blessed Bishop and Confessor German, whose example we admire.

Venerabilem diem atque sublimem, Fratres Carissimi, prompta devotione celebremus, misericordiam Domini nostri suppliciter exorantes, ut Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris sui, cujus exempla miramur, etsi æquari factis ejus non possumus, saltem vestigia sequi, et fidem nobis contingat imitari.

COLLECT.

COLLECTIO.

We give Thee thanks, Almighty God, for the wonderful gifts (*virtutibus*) of the blessed German, Thy Bishop, which Thou, Almighty Father, didst justly grant unto him, because he loved Thee, in his Apostolical profession, more than all things. He cast away riches from him, that by poverty of spirit he might ascend into the kingdom of heaven. He observed meekness, that he might through the spirit inherit the earth in the flesh. He was pleased to mourn in this world that he might enjoy heavenly

Gratias tibi agimus Omnipotens Deus pro virtutibus Beatissimi Germani Antistitis tui, quas ei Pater omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolica confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit; discussit a se divitias, ut paupertate spiritus cœlorum regna conscenderet: mansuetudinem tenuit, ut terram sui corporis spiritualiter possideret. Neque delectatus est in sæculo, ut cœlestem consolationem ex muneris tui largitate perciperet: justitiam esurivit atque sitivit, ut tuis saturaretur elo-

(Card. Bona. De Rebus Lit. 93. Ed. 4to.

* The Titles are part of the document.

consolation, from the abundance of Thy bounty. He hungered and thirsted after righteousness, that he might be filled with Thy word; he was ever merciful (*or he ever gave alms to the poor *eleemosynam jugiter fecit**) that he might continually obtain Thy mercy, not only for himself, but for others also. Purity of heart he cultivated, that he might see Thee. He preserved the Faith, that he might be united with Thy children in brotherly communion. By whose intercession we pray.

(*Here two lines are erased.*)

AFTER THE NAMES.

Having heard the names of those who make their oblations, let us implore the long-suffering clemency of God, that these oblations of his people, which we offer up in honour of the Blessed Bishop and Confessor German.....(*something here wanting*) Let us celebrate this solemn and high day, with the unshaken liberty of that Faith which he defended with constant purpose, in order that the strength of his patience.....(*Here also two lines are erased.*)

Let us also pray for the spirits of those that are dear to us, the number and names of whom the same Almighty God

quiiis : eleemosynam jugiter fecit, ut indesinenter non tantum sibi, sed et cæteris pietatis tuæ misericordiam obtineret : puritatem cordis habuit, ut te videret : fidem servavit, ut filiis tuis fraternam se participatione conjungeret. Per cujus interventum precamur.....

(*Desunt hic duæ lineæ abrasæ.*)

POST NOMINA.

Auditis nominibus offerentium, indeficientem divinam clementiam deprecemur, ut has oblationes plebis, quas in honorem Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris offerimus.....(*deest aliquid*) Signatum diem hodiernæ sollemnitis celebremus cum inconcussâ fidei libertate, quam ille constanti mente defendit, ut robur patientiæ ejus.....

(*Desunt hic etiam duæ lineæ abrasæ.*)

Oremus etiam et pro spiritibus carorum nostrorum, quorum idem Omnipotens Deus et numerum novit et nomina, ut

knoweth, that he may be mindful of all, and remit the sins of all. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

omnium memoriam faciat, omnium peccata dimittat. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

COLLECT AT THE SALUTATION
OF PEACE, PAX VOBISCUM.¹

God, for whose sacred name, Thy blessed Bishop, German, desired to endure persecution for righteousness's sake, inasmuch, that, though he did not suffer martyrdom, he yet reached forward to it by faith, and feared not to subject himself to the hatred and slanderings of men, so as he might obtain an abundant reward in heaven, and attain unto those great blessings of the Gospel; we pray Thee, by his intercession, to grant that peace to Thy Church henceforth for ever, which he loved on earth, according to Thy command. Through our Lord.

PREFACE TO THE CANON OF
THE MASS.²

It is meet and right; it is very meet and right that we should give thanks unto Thee, and sing praises to Thy Fa-

COLLECTIO AD PACEM.

Deus, pro cujus sacro nomine Beatus Germanus Antistes tuus desideravit persecutionem pati propter justitiam, ut etsi martyrium non perferret, fide tamen pertenderet: nec timeret odiis hominum et maledictionibus subjacere, dummodo mercedem copiosum consequeretur in cœlo, et ad illas beatitudines Evangelicas perveniret; te per hujus interventum precamur, ut pacem quam te jubente dilexit in sæculo, perpetualiter Ecclesiæ possidendam tribuas in futuro. Per Dominum nostrum.

CONTESTATIO MISSÆ.

Dignum et justum est: verè æquum et justum est nos tibi gratias agere, et pietati tuæ in honorem summi sacerdotis tui

¹ See Ducange ad Voc. Osculum. See also Bingham, xiii. 8. 13.

² Contestatio, idem sonat quod Contestada; ita enim appellari *Præfactionem*, seu *Orationem* quæ Canoni præmittitur, quâ disponitur Sacerdos et populus ad tremendorum mysteriorum confectionem, quod, ut est in Codice Thuano "Contestetur Sacerdos fidam ac veram professionem populi, id est gratias referre Deo dignum esse."

Canon Missæ, Oratio, quæ in Missa ante Consecrationem, et in ipsâ consecratione divinæ hostiæ recitatur à sacerdote, quæ ideo Canon vocatur, "quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum Confectio."

therly kindness (*pietati tuæ*) in honour of Thy glorious Priest German, both Bishop and Confessor, and that we should offer up our petitions, and recount his great gifts, which Thou, O Lord, Father Almighty, justly didst grant unto him, because in his Apostolical profession he loved Thee more than all things, &c. (*The words are repeated from the first Collect, then is added.*) He loved Thee, O Lord, with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and he loved his neighbour as himself; that, as the whole law and the prophets hang upon these two precepts, he might attain unto those blessings of the Gospel which we have recounted. And whereas Thou, O Lord Jesus Christ, hast said unto thy Apostles, to go all over the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature, and work miracles, these things Thy devoted servant Bishop German¹...following their footsteps, through all Gaul, at Rome (Ravenna?), in Italy, and in Britain; and being afflicted in the body for thirty years...continually preached in Thy name extirpated heresies, brought round the people to a full and perfect faith, cast out

Germani Episcopi et Confessoris laudes canere, vota persolvere, ejusque enarrare virtutes, quas ei Domine Pater Omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolica confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit, &c. (*Repetit ea quæ habentur suprâ in prima Collecta, tum subdit.*) Dilexit te Domine ex toto corde, et ex totâ mente, et ex totâ anima sua, et proximum suum tamquam seipsum; ut secundum quod in his duobus mandatis universa lex et Prophetæ pendebant, ad eas quas diximus evangelicas beatitudines perveniret. Et quia tu Domine Jesu Christi Apostolis tuis dixeras, ut euntes per universum mundum universæ creaturæ evangelium predicarent, et virtutes efficere, hæc tuus devotissimus Germanus Episcopus.....eorum vestigia subsecutus per totas Gallias, Romæ, in Italia, in Britannîâ annis triginta corpore afflictus.....jugiter in tuo nomine prædicavit, hæreses abstulit, adduxit populum ad plenam et integram fidem, ejecit dæmones, mortuos suscitavit, ægris reddidit pristinam sanitatem, implevitque omnia sig-

¹ Supply "hath accomplished," the MS. being here erased.

devils, raised the dead, restored to the sick their former health, and having obtained this great power, performed every other sign. He began and advanced. He fought and conquered. He fulfilled his course, and passed by the darkness of death, to join the company of martyrs, having brought forth fruit an hundred-fold, and having, after this life ended, gone to dwell in the kingdom of heaven. In this belief, O God, the Father Almighty, we beseech Thee humbly, that being commended to Thy Fatherly kindness by his patronage and intercessions in Thy presence, we may obtain in all things Thy mercy, praising Thee, and saying, in the words of Angelic praise, Holy, holy, holy.

COLLECT AFTER THE SANCTUS.

Blessed truly be He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Blessed be God, the king of Israel; peace on earth, and glory in the highest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who the day before He suffered.....

AFTER THE CONSECRATION.

Let Thy holy Word descend, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, upon these our oblations :

na, virtutes utique adeptus. Sic cœpit] ut creseeret. Sic pugnavit ut vinceret. Sic consummavit, ut mortis tenebras præteriret, Martyriis se jungeret stola, cum centesimum fructum perceperit, et vita hæc peracta regnum inhabitârit æternum. Quod credentes Deus Pater Omnipotens supplices exoramus, ut in ejus apud te patrociniis et intercessionibus pietati tuæ commendati nos in omnibus tuam misericordiam consequamur, Angelica te exultatione laudantes et dicentes. Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

COLLECTIO POST SANCTUS.

Benedictus planè qui venit in nomine Domini, benedictus Deus, Rex Israel, pax in terra, gloria in excelsis. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui pridie quam pateretur.....

POST SECRETA.

Descendat, precamur Omnipotens Deus, super hæc quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum

Let the Spirit of Thy inestimable glory descend : Let the gift of Thy ancient long-suffering descend,¹ that our oblation may become an acceptable and spiritual sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. May Thy mighty right hand also defend Thy servants, through the blood of Christ.

tuum sanctum : descendat in-
æstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus : descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum, ut fiat oblatio nostra hostia spiritualis in odorem suavitatis accepta. Etiam nos famulos tuos per sanguinem Christi tua manus dextera invicta custodiat.

BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER. ANTE ORATIONEM DOMINICAM.

Acknowledge, O Lord, the words which Thou hast taught, pardon that presumption which Thou hast commanded : It is ignorance not to know our deserts, it is contumacy not to keep the command, whereby we are enjoined to say, Our Father, &c.

Agnosce Domine verba quæ præcepisti, ignosce præsumptioni quam imperasti : ignorantia est non nosse meritum, contumacia est non servare mandatum, quo dicere jubemur, Pater noster, &c.

AFTER THE PRAYER.

Deliver us from all evil, O God, the Author of all good things, from all temptation, from all offence, from all work of darkness, and establish us in all good, and give peace in our days, O Author of peace and charity. Through our Lord.
(*The Blessing of the people is wanting.*)

POST ORATIONEM.

Libera nos a malis omnibus, auctor bonorum Deus, ab omni tentatione, ab omni scandalo, ab omni opere tenebrarum, et constitue nos in omni bono, et da pacem in diebus nostris, auctor pacis et charitatis. Per Dominum nostrum.
(*Benedictio populi deest.*)

COLLECT AFTER THE
EUCCHARIST.

We have taken from the sacred altar the body and blood of

COLLECTIO POST
EUCCHARISTIAM.

Sumpsimus ex sacris altaribus Christi Domini ac Dei

¹ Bona takes occasion here to observe, that this invocation after the Consecration, contains nothing inconsistent with the Faith.

Christ, our Lord and our God... believing in the unity of the Blessed Trinity. We pray that always full of faith we may hunger and thirst after righteousness, and being strengthened by the grace of the meat of salvation, we may so do His work, that the sacrament which we have received may not be our condemnation, but our remedy. Through our Lord.

nostri corpus et sanguinem... credentes unitatem beatæ Trinitatis. Oramus ut semper nobis fide plenius esurire detur ac sitire justitiam, sicque opus ejus, confortati salutaris escæ gratia, faciamus, ut non in iudicium, sed in remedium, sacramentum quod accepimus, habeamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

COLLECT AT THE END OF MASS.

O Lord Christ, who willest that the faithful should feed on Thy Body, and be made Thy Body, grant that what we have taken may be for the remission of our sins; and that the Divine nourishment given by Thy blessing, may so be mingled with our soul, that the Flesh being subject unto the spirit, and brought into peaceful agreement, may be obedient, and not contend, through the Holy Spirit, who liveth and reigneth, in the unity of the Father and the Son, coeternal, for ever and ever. Amen.

COLLECTIO IN FINE MISSÆ.

Christe Domine, qui et tuo vesci corpore, et tuum corpus effici vis Fideles, fac nobis in remissionem peccatorum esse quod sumpsimus: atque ita se animæ nostræ divina alimonia per benedictionem tuam facta permisceat, ut caro spiritui subdita, et in consensum pacificum subjugata obtemperet, non repugnet, per Spiritum Sanctum qui in unitate Patris et Filii, coæternus vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The solemnities for the Festival of St. German are described, according to Bona, in the Mozarabic Missal. A sermon preached by Hericus on that day, whether the 1st of October or the 31st of July, is still preserved. He there compares German to Elijah, especially in the matter of abstinence. Elijah however, he observes, was

fed by ravens, but St. German usually eat only once a week, and then barley bread alone. He shows how he was a Doctor of the whole world, and had obtained a rank among the chief members of Christ's body ; and how his great holiness procured him distinction in every country. He claims him especially for Gaul as her Apostle ; and ends his sermon by a prayer addressed to St. German. This latter practice he had justified in a special work on the miracles of St. German.¹ He there blames those who say that the souls of the Saints are in Abraham's bosom, or in a place of refreshment, or under the Altar of God, and not able to be present at their tombs and wheresoever they please. He appeals to St. Jerome's language against Vigilantius. The Saints, he says, follow the Lamb wherever He goeth, therefore they may be any where. As they enjoy the presence of God, who knoweth all things, they themselves know every thing in nature, but they are especially present at their earthly remains. (It may here be remarked that St. Thomas Aquinas restricts their knowledge to what is going on in the earth.) And by way of proving his belief in this respect, he describes himself as falling down before the sepulchre, kissing the sacred stone, and humbly venerating his patron as if he were suspended over his head, and ever worshipping with fidelity the place where his feet had stood. In short, he bids men honour St. German and the rest of the Saints with pious devotion, and implore them with earnest affection.

St. German, we have seen, was buried in the chapel of St. Maurice. In process of time Queen Clothilde, the wife of Clovis, who was married in 493, and died in

¹ § 124. ch. iii.

543, built a large Basilica over the tomb of the Bishop.¹ On which occasion St. Lupus, different from St. Lupus of Troyes, came with her from Burgundy to Auxerre ; and was subsequently buried there himself. Her eldest son, Clothaire, afterwards employed St. Desiderius, then Bishop of Auxerre, to build a beautiful *Freda* over St. German's remains, that is, a little covered chapel such as we see in Cathedrals now. It was adorned with silver and gold, and bore the inscription of the royal builder. Ingundis, his wife, presented valuable vessels and vestments, especially a golden cup studded with precious stones, and bearing the name of the Queen. This spot soon became famous for its miracles, according to Hericus.² Old men in his time asserted they had seen numberless cures performed on the sick, the possessed, the deaf and the dumb. The testimony of St. Nicetius in his letter to Queen Chlodoswinda, in 565, has already been given.⁵ St. Gregory of Tours relates, that in the time of Queen Teudechild, Nonnus, a tribune, having come from Auvergne to Auxerre for religious motives, struck off a small piece of the stone from the tomb of St. German, whereupon he immediately became as stiff as brass.⁴ Having considered the guilt of his presumption, he made a vow to consecrate the relie in a Church he intended to erect in honour of St. German in Auvergne. And after having made the vow, was released at once from the punishment. "Into this same Church which Nonnus erected at Mozac, in Auvergne," continues Gregory, "I myself went, in company with my uncle Avitus,

¹ Heric. Ch. iv. de Mir. § 39. Beaunier Abbayes de France, tom. ii. p. 840. Gallia Christ.

² § 40.

³ See Introd. ⁴ Ch. 41, Gloria Confessorum.

Bishop of Auvergne, and on our entering a smell of roses and lilies exhaled from the place, which we attributed to the merits of the blessed German."

It would be long and tedious to enumerate the very many miracles which Hericus, who wrote in the ninth century, represents to have taken place either at Auxerre, or in other places where St. German was particularly honoured. The following is selected, from many much more astonishing in their character and effects, chiefly because the narrator was witness to it himself. On the 31st of July,¹ he says, when Soissons and all its Churches and monasteries were resounding with the praises of the Saint, he, (Hericus) proceeded with some others to one of the Churches dedicated to St. German. Before his arrival the bell began to ring of itself, and only ceased when he had entered. There was no vestige of any one, since all had previously departed from the Church ; and he himself considered the ringing as miraculous ; but however lest his testimony should be deemed partial, he made no mention of it himself, but let his companions spread the account. For the same reasons it would be unfair in a historical point of view to omit another miracle for which Hericus gives good testimony. In the year 869,² Adalricus of Sens, who had been afflicted with an infirmity and contraction of the limbs for twelve years, and had visited the tombs of many other Saints in vain, came to Auxerre for the festival of the first of October. A large multitude were assembled from all quarters. Already half of the vigil had elapsed, and the Psalm, "Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion,"³ was being sung in the Church, when suddenly the voice of Adalricus filled the place and

¹ § 67.

² § 104.

³ Psalm lxiv. or lxxv.

frightened the people and the choir, who were chaunting the divine office. The people rushed towards him and found him senseless ; after a short space of time he recovered, and regained his perfect strength, and was alive in Hericus's time to confirm the account of his cure.

In 859, took place the translation of St. German's remains from the chapel of St. Maurice, and the Basilea, which Queen Clothilde had erected, to a more splendid edifice. The circumstances of it were these.¹ Conrad, or Chuonradus, was brother of Judith of Bavaria, the second wife of Louis-le-Débonnaire, and consequently was uncle to Charles-le-Chauve. He had married Adalais, the daughter of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Both were eminent for their piety. Conrad was, together with his other princely dignities, Commendatory Abbot of St. German's monastery at Auxerre. It was the sad custom of the age for powerful men to plunder Ecclesiastical property, but there were some great exceptions.² Among these was Conrad. He had long been subject to a disease of the eye, which defied the art of medicine,³ and he was about to undergo a caustic application, when having risen once before sunrise, he approached the sepulchre of St. German, where the monks were observing their vigil. The tomb happened to be covered with herbs : he applied some of them to his eye, and immediately recovered the use of it. As a present token of his gratitude, he offered up some golden bracelets to the shrine ; but he contemplated greater proofs of it hereafter. He soon communicated to his wife his purpose of raising a more magnificent monument to St. German. Adalais eagerly entered into his

¹ Hericus, B. ii. Ch. i. § 84. ² § 85. ³ § 86.

views, and went to visit the actual monastery.¹ A favourable piece of ground was found, on the eastern side of the town, where the hill presents a gentle declivity, supposed to be well suited to an edifice. The most experienced architects were engaged, and a model of wax was first made ; which being approved, the greatest ardour was evinced in order to realize it. Some of the monks were sent to Arles and Marseilles, to obtain the materials of the fine ruins which remained there. The spoils of paganism were thus destined to adorn a Christian monument. Having effected their object, they laid the precious charge on barges and sailed up the Rhone. As they journeyed, a violent storm came upon them, and they were obliged to land at a spot where they found a Church dedicated to St. German, and famous for the security which it was said to spread over the country. After they had prayed there for some time, they returned, and found the storm abated ; they again embarked, and at last arrived safe at Auxerre. The columns and other materials and ornaments which they had brought, proved to be all in character and in proportion with the building, a circumstance considered miraculous by Hericus. One of the columns, being placed upon its basis, was elevated by a number of hands ; but all their efforts were unable to give it a right balance ; and it was in the very act of falling, and all had withdrawn to avoid the danger, when suddenly it rose again and placed itself without help in its right position.

It appears Conrad did not live to see the remains of St. German translated to the new building. In 859, Lewis of Germany, the brother of Charles-le-Chauve, taking advantage of a faction in France, made

¹ § 89.

war upon Charles, in spite of the league which had been made at Verdun, in 843, respecting the division of Charlemagne's Empire between his three grandsons, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles. Charles-le-Chauve, conscious of the inequality of his forces, resolved to seek aid from God ; and as he was on his way to meet the army of his brother, he passed by Auxerre. It was the day of the Epiphany, when accompanied by Bishops and Priests alone, he approached the tomb of St. German, and had it opened. The corpse appeared in perfect preservation. Charles having performed his devotions, the Bishops were enjoined to cover the body with costly garments, and pour balm and incense over it. After which the translation took place to the Edifice raised by Conrad. Proceeding thence, the king obtained a complete victory over his brother without loss of blood, and henceforth reigned in peace. Miracles were performed during this translation. A young man, who was a cripple, obtained his recovery while in the act of praying in the Church in the presence of the whole people, and we may add in that of Hericus himself, our authority, since he was monk of St. German's at that time. Another on the same occasion regained the use of his speech. From this time, the sixth of January, besides the solemnities of the Epiphany, was celebrated with an express commemoration of St. German's translation ; to which purpose the Martyrology of Auxerre for that day has the following notice : " At Auxerre the translation of the body of St. German the Bishop from the sepulchre to the new crypt, was performed by the Bishop of Auxerre, Abbo, in the presence and at the request of Charles-le-Chauve, king of the French." It appears then that the edifice which Conrad built was annexed to the original Chapel of St. Maurice, and

to the Monastery of St. German¹ (not the same as that which he in his life had founded,) and that the translation was but a short distance. This Monastery would therefore have been a large enclosure with several edifices contained in it, as we see in the vestiges of some old and famous Abbeys.

Within the precincts there were many places of worship,² and as many altars in honour of Saints. For the remains of many other Saints were soon conveyed to this sacred spot. Those of St. Urban and Tiburtius were brought from Rome in 862, as a gift of Pope Nicolas the First.³ There were also the relics of the Saintly Bishops who had governed the Church of Auxerre, among whom were St. Peregrinus, the first Bishop, and his successors.⁴ On the right hand were St. Urban and St. Innocent. Next to them St. Alodius, the successor of St. German, St. Ursus, St. Romanus, St. Theodosius, Bishops of Auxerre. Near the Pedum (or Crosier) to the east, beside the altar, was St. Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre. To the left was St. Tiburtius, sent from Rome, with five Bishops, Fraternus, Censurius, the friend of Constantius the writer, Gregorius, Desiderius, and Lupus, the latter of whom had come from Burgundy, as we have seen, in company with Clothilde, the wife of Clovis. Together with these were St. Moderatus, a boy, St. Optatus, Bishop, and two priests, St. Sanctinus and St. Memorius.⁵ In process of time, many other sacred remains were there deposited, among which were those of a Pope. Lothaire, the son of Charles-le-Chauve, on his death-bed gave orders that a light might be always kept burning before the shrine.

¹ Bosch. Com.

² *Orationum loca*, § 123. Heric. ³ § 108. ⁴ § 117.

⁵ See Beaunier, *Abbeyes de France*. Bosch. Com.

When the Normans in the ninth century made a violent irruption, the remains of St. German were carefully buried, according to Nevelo, a contemporary author, and remained thus till the beginning of the tenth century. Such was the reverence in which they continued to be held, that when Robert, king of France, in the succeeding age called a council at Auxerre, and the relics of other Saints according to custom were brought to it, Hugo, the Bishop, refused to send those of St. German, urging that they were too valuable. In great calamities however they were carried about. In the time of William the Conqueror, one of the fingers was amputated by a monk of Auxerre, and carried into England, where it became the occasion of the foundation of the celebrated Monastery of St. German, at Selby in Yorkshire, the noble abbey of which still exists. The circumstances of it are curious as illustrating the origin of a monastic establishment, but are too numerous for the present purpose. In 1375, John, Duke of Berry, assigned a yearly sum of gold for the preservation of the coffin. At last in 1567, on the 27th of September, the Huguenots took Auxerre. All are agreed that the remains of St. German on this fatal occasion were violated, but the manner is not quite certain. Le Beuf, a canon of Paris, in his history of the Sacrilege, says that the Huguenots on entering sent immediately a detachment to the monastery of St. German, before the monks had time to carry any thing away ; and that the whole wealth of this opulent establishment fell into their hands. St. German's tomb, with six others, he adds, was broken up, and the sacred remains torn from their receptacles and trampled upon. In this confusion it does not appear what was rescued ; but the prevalent opinion at

Auxerre in 1663, when Viola, the Prior of that institution, wrote his life of St. German, was, that the Huguenots themselves under Divine impulse restored the relics. Other accounts more or less probable were current. But it is pretty certain that when the Bollandists published their Acts of St. German, there were still existing at Auxerre a piece of the silk dress with the imperial arms which Placidia had given ; a bone of one of the fingers ; the sepulchre of stone ; the ashes of the Saint ; and the fragments of the cypress coffin, the gift of the same Empress. These were probably concealed from the Huguenots under earth. They were officially declared to be the relics of St. German by Séguier the Bishop, and are said to have effected miracles.

At Paris in the Church St. Germain l'Auxerrois, famous for its historical connexions, there was before the Revolution a bone in a silver case belonging to the Saint. At Verdun, Miége, and Montfaucon, there were likewise some bones ; at Evreux a part of the skull ; at Chessy some of the ribs. Pope Urban V., once abbot of St. German's, obtained a bone. The following places, Lembrun, St. Julien d'Auxerre, St. Remi at Reims, St. Pierre at Corbi, St. Pierre in Champagne, Rennes, St. Stephen at Auxerre, Cahors, Coutances, Gron near Sens, Metz, Nancy, Bayeux, Caen, Chuni, Cologne, and a place on the banks of the Meuse, called Rutilensis Carthusia, in the Latin—all produced claims of a similar kind. Whether any relics in France have been preserved from the revolutionary profanations, is still to be learnt. Whether any survive the Reformation and the Rebellion in England, at St. Albans, St. Germans in Cornwall, or Selby in Yorkshire, need hardly be enquired.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Conclusion.

READERS are now very capricious people. In many cases, they will not let the writer suggest a moral observation upon the facts he has related to them ; they are disgusted if he do, and say it is unreal, or it is common-place, or it is tedious, and the like. And yet, in many others, they are very glad to find that the author agrees with them : and it greatly tends to recommend a book, if one be so fortunate as to touch upon the right string ; and a sentiment or an opinion here and there, which approves itself, will make many a dull book pass off for good. In the middle ages, writers would altogether have discarded these and similar niceties, and said just as much as they themselves thought right, neither more nor less. But at present, the matter is very different. There are plenty of persons who read, but few who read what does not please them, and moral and general reflections usually come under this category. In the middle ages again, authors were as different as readers. Writing was a kind of sacred employment. Those who wrote books were acknowledged by all to be deeply conversant with their subject. Now, men write in order to become conversant with it. Of course, persons who are considered fit to make books, are generally those who, besides acquaintance with a subject, have natural capacities for the task. Yet this was not a necessary or invariable consequence in the middle ages. His-

tories, for instance, were written by men who had been present at the facts related. It was a secondary consideration whether they were fit persons to judge of facts. Or again, they were written by men who were known to be familiar with the tradition or the inheritance of facts, which passed on religiously from one generation to another. It did not follow, as a matter of course, that they were good critics, or had imagination enough to understand past ages ; although, in reality, they did, in the majority of cases, possess these endowments. From this cause, in a great measure, seems to have arisen that profound respect in which books were held. We hear of even secular books, ornamented in the most costly style, with shining clasps, to keep out the dust, and appropriate desks, to expose them to the view of all. Writing, as was before said, was a sacred avocation. It was the privilege of the Religious in their holy seclusion : “ Read, write, and sing,” says the author of the Imitation. It was sanctified by the devout exercises of the monks, and guarded from profane novelties by the attentive vigilance of the Superior. Natural abilities came into play here as elsewhere, but they were directed and applied wisely. Guibert de Nogent, in the eleventh century, is an instance of this. He was by nature very quick, and ready at writing verses. When the Superior of his Monastery perceived his turn of mind, he bid him be on his guard against a bad use of his talents. Guibert was then obliged to write in secret, for he felt he did not apply them to the honour of God ; and subsequently, this gave him violent pangs of conscience, and brought from him a most humble confession of guilt. Yet his abilities were not allowed to remain dormant. At a fit time, he was appointed by

his Abbot to compose a theological work, for the instruction and edification of Christians.¹ Other occasions also there were of writing. Men came back from the Crusades : they were the proper persons to write about the Crusades. Or again, others had been the intimate friends of great men : these were the best qualified to compose their Life, and make known their private sayings. At present, subjects of this kind are put into the hands of a good editor. But then, it was the wise statesman and minister, who had been at all the privy councils of his sovereign ; or it was the bosom friend of a Saint, who knew his inward life. It mattered little whether he was an ingenious, clever thinker, and could illustrate a plausible theory or a favourite principle. His work was precious from the circumstances of its composition. Contrary to the rule of Aristotle, it was the morality or qualifications of the writer, not of the composition, which constituted its claims to the regard of the public. Men were far too matter-of-fact and simple-minded to take up the tests and canons of literary etiquette.

However, notwithstanding such great disadvantages, arising from the present disposition of both writers and readers, (be content, gentle reader, to bear part of the blame) something like an attempt shall be hazarded, at giving a practical turn to the variety of materials which have come before us in St. German's Life. And to avoid further preliminaries.

I. What are we to think of St. Mamertinus's wonderful story, as related in the eighth Chapter ? That he was a Pagan, and lost the use of his sight and hand, and was induced by one Sabinus to go to Auxerre, to

¹ Vid. Vita Guib. Noving. b. i. chap. xvii.—[?]

seek for St. German, and came at night into the Mons Autricus, the Cemetery, and there fell asleep on the tomb and in the cell of a departed Saint—this is plain enough and indisputable. But what was that which followed? Was it a real thing, or was it a vision? And here the subject becomes serious, and we must “put off our shoes from our feet, for the place where we stand is holy ground.” For what, indeed, do we mean, when we draw a distinction between realities and visions? Is it untrue to say that everything is real, that everything is the action of Almighty God upon His creation, and especially upon His spiritual creation, if such distinction may be made? God works by instruments, or what we view as instruments; He makes the things of the external world, objects, times, circumstances, events, associations, to impress the action of His Will upon men. The bad and the good receive the same impressions, but their judgment concerning them differs. The moral sight of the one is vitiated, that of the others indefinitely pure. If, then, the only real thing to us be the communication of the Divine Mind to our mind, is there room to enquire whether the occasion or medium of that communication is real? At least, it would appear that St. Mamertinus considered the enquiry superfluous. The very obscurity which impends over his narrative, and which has purposely been preserved in this Life, may, for aught we know, be owing to the impossibility of drawing any material distinctions between what are called real events and visions or dreams. For it must be remembered that Constantius introduces the very language of St. Mamertinus into his Life of St. German. It was a book which apparently had but recently come out, in which St. Mamertinus published to the world the his-

tory of his own mysterious conversion. And Constantius seems to have a scruple in taking any liberties with it, and consequently inserts it, as it was, into his own work. Now it is certainly remarkable that the subject himself of so wonderful an occurrence, should hesitate whether he ought to call it a reality or a vision, sometimes adapting his phraseology to the one aspect of the matter, sometimes to the other. Yet what is this but what had four hundred years before been exemplified and sanctioned by Inspiration itself? In the history of Cornelius's conversion, himself a Gentile, the same ambiguity is apparent. In the very beginning, how singular, if we may so speak, the words, "He saw a vision *evidently*." Here, however, the apparition of the angel is clearly called a vision. Yet, when the messengers of Cornelius came to St. Peter, they said nothing about a vision, but "Cornelius, the centurion, was warned from God by an holy angel." Nay, Cornelius himself, when Peter came to him, spoke as if it had been no vision. "Four days ago, I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and *behold a man stood before me and said*." Was this not, at once, both a vision and a reality? Could God's purposes be more distinctly revealed? In like manner, the whole of what happened to Mamertinus had but one end, one object, the imparting of Almighty God's gracious mercies to a lost and sinful creature. Life itself is as much a vision as any thing in sleep; it is the moving to and fro of ever flitting images; there is one, and one only, substantial fact in life, the existence of created beings in the presence of their Omnipotent Maker. And such, apparently, was the ultimate aspect in which St. Mamertinus came to view his conversion, ever less complex,

more simple, more one, as he advanced in holiness, “without which no man will see the Lord.” He most probably lived till 468, about fifteen years before Constantius began to write his Life, and would therefore be at that time an old man, one who had fought the good fight. For he was a young man when St. German was above forty, and apparently outlived him as long as twenty years, having become Abbot of the Monastery only at a late period. But so it is ; Almighty God has never been seen, and yet is always seen. Every thing around us is a symbol of His presence. Does not the sublime author of the City of God speak after this wise ? “Be not surprised,” he says, “if God, though He be invisible, is said to have appeared *visibly* to the Fathers. For as the sound which conveys the thought that dwells in the silence of the mind, is not one and the same thing with it, so that form in which God is seen, who yet dwells in the invisible. was not one with Him. Nevertheless, He was visible in this same bodily form, just as thought is audible in the sound of the voice ; and the Fathers knew that *they saw an invisible God* in that bodily form, which yet was not He. For Moses spake unto Him who also spake, and yet he said unto Him, ‘If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself, that I may see Thee with knowledge.’”¹

To conform, however, to the ordinary modes of speech, (and we cannot but do so as long as things appear multiple, instead of simple) it is conceived that what occurred while St. Mamertinus was in the cell of St. Corcodemus, was what we call a vision. St. Florentinus in white and shining garments, at the entrance

¹ Exod. xxxiii. 13. Lib. x. ch. 13. Civ. Dei.

of the cell ; St. Corcodemus issuing from the tomb and joining his ancient companions ; the beautiful dialogue concerning the penitent Pagan ; the five holy Bishops celebrating their Votive Mass in the Church ; the discourse between the Apostle St. Peregrine and Mamertinus ; and the subsequent antiphonal strains issuing from the Church,—all was part of the vision. But the vision was so clear ; its effects and fulfilment were so complete, that it had nothing, as it were, to distinguish it from a real event, except that it occurred in sleep. Dreams and visions have ever held a prominent part in God's marvellous dispensations. The form is a dream, the substance a reality. We cannot bear the reality without the form. "Now we see through a glass darkly ; but then face to face ; now I know in part ; but then shall I know even as I am known."¹ A notion attaches to dreams and visions which we think we can cast off ; they do not hang by us with the vividness of real events. They have a meaning ; yet they admit of being otherwise viewed. This is our infirmity, but it is wisely ordained, for we are men.

St. Mamertinus affords a striking fulfilment of the prophecy : "In the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams"² In proportion then, as the clearness with which God communicates with His creatures diminishes, may we not infer that there is on their part a corresponding withdrawing from His presence ? When the phenomena of the external world usurp more and more of the faith and confidence of men, and are no longer

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

² Acts ii. 17.

viewed as mere instruments and media, but rather as self-existing substances, is this not a sign that men are daily retiring further from the influence of that Blessed Spirit which was poured upon all flesh ? On the other hand, what an unearthly character must have been stamped upon the life of St. Mamertinus ! To have been brought into the presence of the unseen world, what a range of heavenly recollections, what a sacramental glow over his whole future life ! But let us proceed.

II. No one will say that St. German was not a holy man of the highest order. It demands no proof but the mere narrative of facts. There is not a circumstance of his life, since his conversion, which requires explanation or apology (unless it be the Deposition of Chelidonius, his connexion with which is extremely obscure and uncertain). The question is rather, how did he become thus holy, thus great, and in so short a time ? How is it that the sanctity of so many ancient Saints was so easy, natural, even, uniform, marked, unflinching, unmingled, resolute ? We think we are reading of angels ; where is the man ? In the case of St. German, we have before had occasion to remark, that a progression at least, in gifts, powers, and confidence, is apparent ; that a change, by no means indefinite, seems to have taken place after the lapse of twelve years, and the completion of his Apostolic work. But the mystery remains nearly the same. How, from the beginning, did he live, as we read he did ? Men of old had like passions with ourselves, we cannot doubt it ; how then did they become suddenly Saints ? We hear, indeed, of groans of penitence, and fasts and vigils and prayers ; but how do these also come all at once ? To those who would be Saints now, not only everything without is opposed, but their very

selves are at war with them ; and not the least feature of this opposition, is the ignorance and confusion which they have concerning the whole matter of saintliness and the righteousness required of the Gospel. But in ancient times, the old man seems to have been put off like a garment, altogether, and without remnant ; the new man, like a bright robe without a patch, without a stain, taken up in its place. Surely history must be false here, if anywhere ; or rather, partial and incomplete. It may be good for us that it should be so, as an exercise of our faith. But it is also right that meditation should try to recover the lost side of the picture ; and its recoveries may be brought out to the view of others, not as superseding the same exercise of faith in them, (for no subsequent labours, bestowed upon a distant period, can supply the evidence which contemporary testimony has denied,) but as affording materials for their reflections, and testing the spirituality of their discernment. History then, the biographies of Saints included, is a structure that has been built up according to rules of its own, and these rules have ever been imperfect. Effect, so to say, and appearance, have been its leading principles, principles not necessarily erroneous ; nay, in the common run, the guide of life and the foundation of society. But principles which are guides for men may be indefinitely imperfect, because men are imperfect ; and in the training for the life of angels, we require something more than their defective canon, an ever nearer approach to those laws which are to be our guide in that heavenly society which we hope to join. Now history has had the same yearnings, the same ideal ; but history has applied it to this world, which can never be what heaven is. Repose is the ideal of beauty. Ac-

cordingly, history has invested the Saints on earth with all the attributes of repose ; and as qualities in themselves are one thing and not another, white is white, black is black, the Church militant has been represented in the same uniform character of repose with the Church triumphant, from beginning to end. It has been thought that the pure white could not come out itself from the antecedent admixture of discordant colours, it could be no abstraction, no extract from opposite natures, it must have been ever there whole and perfect, or nowhere at all. In this manner, many, very many, of the old Saints, stand out like beautiful statues, serene, unruffled, sublime, ethereal, unearthly ; and such they were in truth, but not this alone. The character of St. German subsequent to his conversion, is an example of these historical types, one of those radiant faultless pictures which line the long galleries of the vestibule of heaven, the Church on earth.

Now that there is another side of the picture, and that it is not without its profit to beholders, seems to be shown by those instances where Saints have been the relaters of their own lives. Doubtless, Possidius' *Life of St. Augustine* does not read like St. Augustine's own *Confessions*. The value then of this last work is this, that it discloses the probation of the Saint. We have in the case of St. German all that was external, all that was intended to carry on the type of sanctity from generation to generation, but we must look beyond testimony for the history of his probation, or his struggle with "the rulers of the darkness of this world." On the other hand, in the *Confessions*, we seem to discover all the wonderful threads which go to make up the tissue of the Saints' white robe, we find

some going one way, some another, some again crossing each other, and yet all kept together by the broad hem which encircles them, and in the end making up in discordant ways the one spotless garment. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon St. German's inward life by comparing it with this marvellous book. But first let us ascertain somewhat more clearly the ground on which we are to stand.

It is fully admitted that there is something evidently extraordinary and miraculous in St. German's conversion and subsequent life. But this alone does not seem a sufficient account of the matter. All grace is extraordinary and miraculous, and yet we may still enquire about the *how* or the way on the part of man. Man is a free agent, though the measures of God's grace may vary ever so much. Through grace, doubtless, St. German reached those heights of holiness which we view with awe and wonder ; but grace is given to perform a work, and where is this work ? grace is given to conquer nature, where is the conquest ? This is all that is asked. Effects require predisposing causes. Allow for argument sake that one and all follow by unavoidable necessity, yet the history of them remains the same ; if we read of the one, we may enquire about the other. Nor is there any thing to show that the notion of miracles implies the exclusion of other causes and means ; for though as regards the irrational world, it might not appear absurd to suppose an effect produced without any other cause but the miracle itself ; yet in the case of rational and responsible beings to suppose the end for which their reason and responsibility were given, to be attained without the means of these, involves an obvious inconsistency. And here Butler has a far-searching saying which seems to suit the present pur-

pose. "Nor do we know," he says, "how far it is possible in the nature of things, that effects should be wrought in us at once, equivalent to habits, i. e. what is wrought by use and exercise."¹ The possession of moral habits, under which denomination Christian virtues and holiness are to be placed, however connected with and dependent upon the miracle of God's grace, is yet not like the possession of those miraculous gifts which were bestowed in the beginning of Christianity, of which men had the power of making a bad or a good use, as they chose. Holiness is a habit and an act. A habit or an act is not a faculty or a power. It is in the nature of the latter to be applied to contraries, but the other is one energy definite and exclusive. For indeed holiness is in energy, not in virtue; or if in some sense it may be said to be virtual, it is so in one way, not in contrary ways; that is, in leading on to further holiness, or, as the Psalmist says, going on from strength to strength. Holiness cannot therefore be a gift of God independent of man's exertions and consent; if it be an energy of man, it must work through him and with him, for it is an effect, not an instrument; and the very essence of it is that it is an effect of human agency. And here again we may compare another passage of the same writer, though applied by him to another subject. "It appears from Scripture," he says, "that as it was not unusual for persons, upon their conversion to Christianity, to be endued with miraculous gifts; so some of those persons exercised these gifts in a strangely irregular and disorderly manner (which could not be said with regard to holiness or other habits).....Consider a person endued with any of

¹ Anal. p. 87.

these gifts ; for instance that of tongues : it is to be supposed that he had the same power over this miraculous gift, as he would have had over it, had it been the effect of habit, of study and use, as it ordinarily is (and here the effect of habit will not be confounded with the habit itself, the effect of habit being viewed as an instrument merely ;) or the same power over it, as he had over any other natural endowment. Consequently he would use it in the same manner he did any other, either regularly and upon proper occasions only, or irregularly and upon improper ones ; according to his sense of decency and his character of prudence.”¹ It may be added that holiness in the beginning was indeed, though not properly a faculty or instrument, an endowment like any other ; but man having fallen, a distinction naturally arose between what came from God alone, and what man contributed, for man was no longer the creature of God as it came out of His hands ; something foreign to God, if one may so speak, a negative nature had attached itself to his original nature ; there was henceforth a self, a will, a spontaneity ; holiness was now to be a recovery and an act, not a mere gift or a necessary condition.

If the case stand thus, let us endeavour to apply it to St. German. The first thing that astonishes us in his conversion, is that he was taken by surprise. He has been irritated by the bold conduct of Bishop Amator, he proceeds to Auxerre to take vengeance upon him, he learns that he has set off to Autun, he awaits his return, he hears him resign his Episcopal Office, he is perhaps not over-sorry, he goes to see the end of the matter in Church, and join in the general election of a

¹ Anal. p. 182.

successor. Suddenly he is surrounded with priests, stripped of his secular robes, clad in a clerical dress, deprived of his hair, and nominated to the Bishopric of Auxerre. Now we will not stop to enquire whether this violent behaviour of St. German involved a habitual contempt of religion, though we may rather infer the contrary ; we will not make conjectures about the influence, which the vicinity of holiness, a virtuous education, the high outward estimation in which religion was held, a character naturally aspiring and elevated, and the effects of a diffused literature pregnant with Christian verities and solemn warnings, may have had upon the mind of the Duke and Governor of the Armorican and Nervican Provinces ; although we might make many inductions from the habits of thoughtfulness and the sense of responsibility which an office so full of high and accountable functions was calculated to produce, the enforcement of duty and discipline on others, the necessity of example in self, the probability that an exalted statesman is on the whole upright and religious when no impeachment against his character in these respects is on record ;—all this we must leave as we find it. Certain it is, that the immediate preliminaries of his ordination and nomination were any thing but adequate to the character we afterwards find him sustaining, and that there was an evident abruptness and harshness in this remarkable transition of his life. But two months elapsed before he was consecrated Bishop of Auxerre ; and it is expressly declared, that during that time he used every endeavour and means in his power to escape from the new charge that was imposed upon him. Is there not here some clue to that inward struggle which forms the secret history of Saints ? Is there not here a shadow of that

side of the picture of the Saint which we were seeking? Let us dwell on these two months. The internal struggle must have lasted through life (for it did so in St. Anthony), but it is something gained, to get an insight into these two months.

What are two months? Fifty-six or sixty days. But sixteen or twenty days may well have been filled up with the business and tumult of Election, the resignation of a civil appointment (a letter to Autun or Arles might well have been answered in a week or ten days), the preparations for Consecration, and the reception of the three Bishops who were to consecrate him. Forty days remain, and forty days previous to a ministry! This seems to open a new view of the subject. Time is a mysterious thing, concerning which we have but very dim conceptions. Some have thought it to be the mere indispensable mode in which all our thoughts are conceived. At least, that it is measured by the succession of our ideas, seems clear enough. And if so, there is nothing to prevent a year being compressed into an hour. The year of one rational being, may be the hour of another; nay, a year may, to the same individual, be less than an hour under different circumstances. It is almost proverbial, that every year the years seem to roll round faster; which so happens, not perhaps because the younger we are the more ideas we have, whereby the year seems to be more full of incidents; but rather the contrary, because the relations of ideas which are presented to the mind as it grows older, become so numerous, that they successively drive each other away, and a less definite impression, on the whole, is left, than when we were young, and ideas, from being few, were more indelible. How much may pass in the mind during forty days! What

various and countless thoughts may have arisen in the seclusion of one Lent ! How the memory has at times been so vividly awakened as to partake of the nature of actual representation ! How the future has been measured out by anticipation, with almost prophetic reality ! How the multiplicity of things has wonderfully been conjured up before the sight of the mind by a glimpse of the one, the primary form of all things, the Law of the Divine Wisdom and Knowledge, Unity ! But forty days have a still more sacred association. It was the period of our Divine Master's Temptation—shall we say Probation ? Yes, for though He could not sin, yet He took upon Him our flesh, to endure the like trials with us, though ever without guilt.¹ And, if the thought may be expressed with the deepest awe and reverence, what a range of things were within that short space presented to Him in the form of Temptations ! The world itself came before His eyes, all its glories, its proud kings, its opulent cities, its conquering armies, its ambitious fleets, its philosophers and their systems ! And behold here the three great trials to which human nature is subject at once brought together, the desires of the flesh, the ambition of the mind, the pride of the heart ; the first, when bread was the occasion ; the second, when the world was the end ; the last, when self was the centre : “ If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.” It might be profane to introduce such a subject as this, were He not the example of all Saints, and were it possible to speak of holiness and supernatural gifts without instancing Him. Nay, the more

¹ “ Ut esset in similitudine carnis peccati pœna sine culpâ.”
—Aug. De Peccatorum Meritis. Lib. i. 60 §.

holy men have been, (and no doubt St. German yielded to none in this respect) the more reason we have for presuming that they were brought within the like vicinity of Satan's devices. The more grace abounded in St. German, the more sure we may be that he began not his ministry without contending with the powers of darkness. It was immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost on the baptized Son of man, that He was led away into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil. Now we are expressly told, that after St. German's wonderful ordination, it was with great difficulty he could bring himself to accept the charge of Bishop, to which he was elected.¹ Nothing, as it appears, but absolute force made him consent at last to be consecrated ; the people, the clergy, the nobility, all were against him. What then must have passed in his mind during the suspense ! Let us consider what it requires to make up our minds to be faithful servants of God. Some, indeed, take a rapid glance of the capabilities of the future ; others are slow in imagining the difficulties they will have to encounter. Some, by a marvellous penetration (and this was one of St. German's gifts) see at once the course they will have to pursue ; others have enough to do to prepare for immediate struggles. But for all there are countless things in prospect to meet, there are as many in the retrospect to forego and to undo ; and men will sleep rather for sorrow, before they come fully to realize the scene before them. We are not, however, quite at a loss for historical information, to conceive what might be the struggles of Saints even after conversion. St. Augustine's Confessions, as was

¹ See ch. v.

before observed, will ever be a record to show how much may be renounced, how much may be attained, through God's grace. He had said in another work, when charged with his previous life by enemies, "I do toil much in my thoughts, struggling against my evil suggestions, and having lasting and almost continual conflict with the temptations of the enemy, who would subvert me. I groan to God in my infirmity; and He knoweth what my heart laboureth with."¹ And, indeed, never can it be said that a previous life goes for nothing, though it be ever so changed afterwards. The evil effects of bad customs still remain; and worldliness of mind, which it seems may be imputed to St. German's former state, is not the least permanent. About the very time at which St. German became Bishop of Auxerre, St. Augustine was using the following language concerning himself; "In this so vast wilderness, full of snares and dangers, behold many of them I have cut off, and thrust out of my heart, as Thou hast given me, O God of my salvation. And yet when dare I say, since so many things of this kind buzz on all sides about our daily life,—when dare I say that nothing of this sort engages my attention, or causes in me an idle interest? True, the theatres do not now carry me away, nor care I to know the courses of the stars, nor did my soul ever consult ghosts departed; all sacrilegious mysteries I detest....Notwithstanding, in how many most petty and contemptible things is our curiosity daily tempted, and how often we give way, who can recount? How often do we begin, as if we were tolerating people telling vain sto-

¹ Serm. 3, in Ps. 36, § 19. Apud Oxford Transl. of the Confessions, p. 223. Nota.

ries, lest we offend the weak ; then, by degrees, we take interest therein, &c.”¹ But St. German was to refrain even from things in themselves lawful. His wife Eustachia was now to become his sister.² How fitly might he again say with St. Augustine, “ Verily, Thou enjoimest me continency from the ‘lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the ambition of the world.’ Thou enjoimest continency from concubinage ; and for wedlock itself, Thou hast counselled something better than what Thou hast permitted. And since Thou gavest it, it was done, even before I became a dispenser of Thy sacrament. But there yet live in my memory the images of such things, as my ill custom there fixed ; which haunt me strengthless when I am awake.”³ But more than this, there are pleasures innocent, and even elevating, which yet the Saint does not allow himself to enjoy. They seem to belong to higher natures than men have, and yet they are violently appropriated by the world, and they lose much of their real character by sinful and vain associations. But even then they seem to act as a soothing and efficacious remedy, like the essence which, though hidden in the admixture of useless ingredients, still reveals its valuable properties often unknown to the recipient. They tell to the unwary soul a tale of higher things ; they utter accents, and breathe combinations, unheard among the realities of life. They say not whence they come, yet when the distance has been measured, they are beside the strait gate, and beckon of former acquaintance. “ The delights of the ear,” might St. German say with St. Augustine, “ had firmly entangled and

¹ Confess. Oxf. Transl. p. 214, 215. ² See ch. vi. ³ p. 205.

subdued me ; but Thou didst loosen and free me. Now in those melodies which Thy words breathe soul into, when sung with a sweet and attuned voice, I do a little repose ; yet not so as to be held thereby, but that I can disengage myself when I will. But with the words which are their life, and whereby they find admission into me, themselves seek in my affections a place of some estimation, and I can scarcely assign them one suitable. For at one time I seem to myself to give them more honour than is seemly, feeling our minds to be more holily and fervently raised unto a flame of devotion, by the holy words themselves, when thus sung, than when not ; and that the several affections of our spirit, by a sweet variety, have their own proper measures in the voice and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith they are stirred up. But this contentment of the flesh, to which the soul must not be given over to be enervated, doth oft beguile me, the sense not so waiting upon reason, as patiently to follow her ; but having been admitted merely for her sake, it strives even to run before her, and leave her. Thus, in these things I unawares sin, but afterwards am aware of it.”¹

III. Language is so moulded upon the fashions and customs of the world, that it appears often awkward, and even profane, to introduce some of its expressions into serious subjects. Of this kind is the word *literary*, which, as the usage of the day directs, seems very inappropriate to hagiology ; and yet we are at a loss to find any equivalent term which may convey the idea intended, without doing injury to clearness and simplicity. However, as religious men

¹ p. 210.

have used such expressions as "Sacred Literature," on the highest of all subjects, the same liberty may perhaps here be excused, on a lower field of consideration. It should seem, then, that Saints may be divided into two classes ;—literary Saints, and Saints not literary. Under the latter St. German ought to be ranked. Saints are seldom illiterate, which is different from not being literary ; accession of knowledge is almost identical with growth in piety ; and whether it be derived through books, or oral instruction, or meditation, it is almost invariably in some degree connected with holiness. It is supposed that this fact is very evident throughout the middle ages. Nothing could sometimes exceed the ignorance of men of the world, kings, barons, knights, and the retinue of courts ; but monasteries, which then was a convertible term with abodes of religion, were very generally the seats of learning. The village which claimed the Abbot for its feudal suzerain was, doubtless, better instructed than that which lay at the foot of the baron's castle, nay, perhaps than the castle itself. These were two distinct currents passing along from generation to generation : the one carrying down to posterity an accumulated treasure of knowledge, the other stranding an uncouth conglomeration of heterogeneous gatherings. Here were the Four Faculties of the human soul said to have been defined and explained, by Anselm, the Abbot of Bee,¹ Passion or Propension, Will, Reason, Intellect ; a Book of Sentences ; a Sum of Theology ; the Bible. There were duels, witchcraft, gambling, point of honour, patronage, game laws, primogeniture, investitures, vassallage, constitutions. Knowledge is a

¹ Vita Guiberti Noving. lib. i. ch. xvii.

toy with the world ; they take it up or they throw it down as they please. The world is sometimes very learned, nay, it sometimes tosses higher than religion, or at least the umpires say so. But knowledge is the habitual food of the godly ; it is healthy because, it is more equable ; it is digested all, because it is well proportioned to the want ; and the godly have none of those phrenzies which an intemperate feast of learning will produce. Still Saints need not be literary, any more than they need be noble by birth, which has sometimes been supposed of the Saints of certain ages. An occasional writing, called forth by particular circumstances, or documents composed in the course of study, merely to impress things on the memory, and to serve for the instruction of others, do not constitute a literary person. St. German apparently was thus situated. He was deeply learned, and was the teacher of great men. He may have written and been read. Yet he certainly was not a literary character. His merits are never in ancient records connected with this qualification. No one appealed to his writings, though many came to consult him in person. At present, there is a vague notion that writing is the great means of commanding respect, and claiming a title to wisdom and judgment. In the primitive ages, it seems men took a higher view of wisdom ; they did not confound, as we do, the faculty or the instrument, with the substance. It was not necessary for things to be explicitly striking, to be intrinsically valuable. A general tone, a habit, a consistency of speech and action, proclaimed the Christian wisdom, more than a power of analysis, a perception of analogies, and a command of rhetorical resources. Can we doubt that a St. Polycarp would deserve confidence where a Tertullian might be distrusted ? What

was that divine unction which filled the speech of the blind Saint at Tyre, while he quoted and applied the Holy Scriptures from memory, in the presence of the assembled multitude, and which so thrilled the heart of the historian, that he became eloquent in spite of himself? Surely this was something in itself higher and more authoritative than the mere talent of writing, though it has often been combined with it. But so it is: those on whom the choicest favours of God seem to be bestowed are often unskilled in the arts of composition, or even in the more general modes of communicating their thoughts. A superficial observer may pass by, and assume that diffidence is incapacity. But those that have been near, may have remarked a wonderful clear-sightedness, a facility in receiving knowledge, an elevation of thought, a power of distinguishing perversion from truth, an instinctive sense of the leaven of heresy, and a sympathetic discernment of what is orthodox, moral and holy, which have filled them with confusion at their own acute dulness and logical shallowness. They seemed to aim at nothing but God's will, and yet all came. They seemed too humble to seek to influence others, yet doubtless they did influence them already, and would hereafter be prepared for any exertion which it should please their Divine Master to order. Is it not these that really lead the better part of mankind? Are they not the true incense of the Church, while the more brilliant are but the showy censer which distributes their fragrance?

This is a consideration which applies in a special manner to St. German, and at the same time explains how, after his death, the particular character of his mind would have been forgotten or lost in a general renown for wisdom and sanctity, and amid

the more sensible and immediate tokens of his former life, as displayed by the miracles which survived him. For indeed writers have this privilege among many others, that they obtain a definite existence in the mind of posterity. There is a famous expression of Sidonius Apollinaris, which, as it may not be passed over in any life of St. German, furnishes also an apposite illustration of the foregoing remarks. St. Prosper of Orleans had requested him to celebrate the praises of St. Anian, who has been introduced to the reader in the preceding narrative. He writes back : “ You desire me to extol the glory of the blessed Anian, that most eminent and perfect bishop, *equal to Lupus, and not unequal to German* ; you wish that the minds of the faithful may be impressed with the practice, virtues, and gifts of so great a saint.....know then that I had begun to write.” It will be remarked that a kind of superiority due to St. German seems here to be implied ; since a Saint might be equal to St. Lupus, yet still unequal to St. German. But the passage is rather quoted for another purpose, namely, to indicate what might be considered the three types of a Saint in the fifth century in Gaul. And it is observable that none of these come under the denomination of literary men. There are indeed two letters of St. Lupus extant, which, beside many other proofs, evince his superior attainments. Yet neither he, nor St. Anian, nor St. German, owe their reputation to any written productions. Their merits had something of a sacramental nature, which begat awe and silent reverence, and perhaps it would have been almost a lowering of their exalted position, had they moved in the ranks of Saints and Authors. To understand which we have but to consider, how painful to serious minds is the literary light, so to say,

in which Paley, in his otherwise able work on St. Paul's Epistles, places the inspired writings of that Apostle. It is also conceivable that many may have been deterred from reading Lowth's Book on the Prophets, from the very object which it professes to aim at. And is it not a fact, that the higher we ascend in the contemplation of the different orders of intelligences, the less we expect as by instinct any of those symbols or modes of external influence, which we connect with associations of an inferior and more earthly character? The Apostles did write, yet we dare not call theirs writing in the ordinary sense. The Blessed Virgin on the other hand did not write; we think indeed we discover a passage or two of Holy Scripture dictated by her, and perceive her influence presiding over much more; yet she must needs have another as the medium of her thoughts. But further still, if we may reverently appeal higher, in the person of our divine Lord, so immeasurably above all that is man, though both Man and God, do we not think that it implies something derogatory to His nature, to attribute to Him the use of any such channel of communication? Is there not a silence and a mystery which encircles Him and those nearest to Him, incompatible with certain manifestations? And does not the famous letter to King Abgarus fail to commend itself in some respects from this very circumstance? One among many instances of this veil thrown over the Humanity of our blessed Lord, is the fact that no personal description has been left of Him, that depends upon any higher authority than vague and uncertain traditions. And then how little is known of those with whom this His Humanity was especially connected; His mother, St. Mary Magdalen, to whom He appeared first after the

Resurrection, St. John who lay on His breast ! We know a great deal more about St. Paul, than St. Peter ; St. Paul saw the Lord in visions, St. Peter face to face. And there was perhaps a propriety arising from this same cause, in that St. Peter's preserved Epistles are general, while those of St. Paul are also often private. Now if this be true, it is certainly remarkable that with an authentic and somewhat circumstantial account of St. German's life extant, yet there should be a similar mystery spread over his character. It has been already observed, that no definite description has been left by Constantius, either of his outward appearance or of his particular disposition and tone of mind ; nor has a single sentence of any writing of his come down to posterity ; nay, but very shortly after his death, it should seem nothing of the kind was forthcoming, though at the same time he was known to have possessed all the qualifications requisite. And what brings the parallel of his life with that of His divine Master still nearer, even the very facts of his career on earth were being obscured in the wonderful and miraculous consequences which followed upon his death ; so that he also needed one that had " perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto Christian people in order, that they might know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed."

If then we were to compare St. German with any Saints which had preceded him, we should not in a general aspect liken him to any of the Saints who sustained a literary fame, but rather with those sublime, unearthly types, whose best description is, that they were mystic roses from the Holy Wood that budded, the fragrance of which spread far and wide, which yet none could embody into ostensible form ; which lasted

ever the same, though none knew how it passed on from generation—a St. Lawrence, a St. Nicolas, a St. Anthony, a St. Martin ! And there are more reasons than this which seem to point out especially the second of the Saints just mentioned, St. Nicolas, as a just subject of comparison, as will be seen by the following extract from the Roman Breviary. “ St. Nicolas having devoted his whole soul to God, undertook a journey to Palestine, in order to visit the holy places, and manifest his veneration on the spot. When he had taken ship, though it was fair weather and the sea was quiet, he foretold to the sailors a dreadful tempest. The tempest came, and the passengers were all in extreme danger, but Nicolas prayed, and the tempest by miracle was assuaged. He returned home to Patara, in Lycia, after this journey, and gave the example of the most singular holiness. By divine admonition he then came to Myra, which was the metropolis of Lycia. Just at that time the Bishop of the city had died, and the provincial Bishops were consulting about the election of a successor. They also had received a divine intimation, urging them to elect the first who on the morrow should enter the Church in the morning and be called Nicolas. They did not disregard the command, and Nicolas was found on the morrow passing the doors of the Church, and with the consent of all was created Bishop of Myra. In his Episcopate he preserved that chastity which he had always maintained, and was noted for his wisdom, the frequency of his prayers, his vigils, abstinence, liberality and hospitality, his mildness in exhorting, and his severity in reproofing.”

ERRATA.

Page

- 52 line 26, for *ashes*, read *wood-ashes*.
54 note, after *silice*, read *or cinere*.
59 line 12, for *six Bishops*, read *seven Bishops*.
61 lines 25 and 30, for *Marmontier*, read *Marmoutier*.
93 line 17, for *Vignornia*, read *Vigornia*.
95 line 9, for *beateous*, read *beauteous*.
97 note, for *Valerius*, read *Valesius*.
117 line 15, in some copies, for *præponerit*, read *præponeret*.
119 line 18, in some copies, for *St. Jerome*, read *St. Sulpitius*.
119 line 19, for *we know*, read *we learn*.
126 line 30, in some copies, for *Pelagius the Bishop*, read *Palladius the Bishop*.
132 note, for *Mang*, read *Maug*.
132 note, for *Vaticam*, read *Vatican*.
153 line 30, for *in the prescnt occasion*, read *on the present occasion*.
159 line 26, for *in that account*, read *on that account*.

Henry Mozley and Sons. Printers, Derby.

This book is DUE on the last
date stamped below

MAR 23 1954

SEP 6 1954

SEP 21 1954

NOV 20 1958

REC'D LID-URU



3 1158 01313 3672

BX
4676
N46Q
v.2

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 800 882 3

